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THE QUARTERLY

of the

Oregon Historical Society.

VOLUME VII.]

MARCH, 1906

[NUMBER 1

A NEW OPPORTUNITY IN THE BUILDING OF A STATE.¹

By LUELLA CLAY CARSON.

Something like a hundred years ago Maria Edgeworth, with gentle insistence, pleaded for the higher education of women in a quaint book called "Letters to Literary Ladies." She was a pioneer in recognizing the relation of woman to national life; of educated woman to civilization. Charlotte Bronte, some fifty years later, in 1849, wrote a book in which her most lovely character urges that women of the middle class be allowed some variety. "They are only expected," she writes, "to cook and sew all their lives long as if they had no germs of faculties for anything else. Keep your girls' minds narrow and fettered and they will be a care and anxiety. Cultivate them, give them scope and work, they will be your gayest companions in health, your tenderest nurses in sickness, your most faithful prop in age."

These two books urging larger knowledge and freedom, higher education, scope and variety in aim and work,—were faint voices dimly heard as they pleaded for what to-day enlightened nations recognize as wise for woman and wise for the race.

¹Address delivered before the State Federation of Women's Clubs, October 4, 1905.

Long before the founding of Girton and Newnham, the women's colleges at Cambridge, England, an English poet foresaw and prophesied that woman must gain in mental breadth, in larger mind; man in sweetness and moral height. And then may come a statelier Eden, the crowning race of humankind.

Great movements begin in the minds of few persons. The great movement now going on uplifting womanhood throughout the nations and tribes and in every sphere, had its beginning in obscure places and amidst opposition and derision. Mankind is toiling upward through untold struggles in subduing nature, establishing social, political, commercial standards, economical and philanthropical welfare, and in making all these things work together for righteousness. Womankind also must persistently work out its own salvation with gradual aid from the powers, seen and unseen, that prepare for that consummation toward which the whole world moves.

Since those faint pleadings were published in the land of the Magna Charta, no more remarkable change has taken place in civilization than the change in the status and consequent ambitions of woman. Christianity, freedom, education, and organization have worked together side by side. Christianity prepared the way for her to become a partaker in the thoughts and deeds making for human destiny. Modern governments have found it helpful to give her consideration. In our own country, where education is the safeguard and labor is honorable, the richness of learning is hers if she can but ask for it and the right to make her own living, if need be, and so she may be prepared for a life of usefulness, goodness, health, and self-respect.

Our day of organization for effectiveness invites her to ally herself with other women for the closer study of needs and for the surer planning to fit herself to relieve

those needs and so to ameliorate the sufferings of the sick and helpless; to enlarge the hopes of the well and strong. Woman is making ready to respond to a double realization of responsibility: a realization that there is strength in union and even a deeper realization that there can be no permanent union without units. Union of many ideas and many ideals for some common purpose is one of the characteristics of our generation. Union of diversity is the highest principle of art, of democracy, and of the modern State.

So must it be the principle governing the work and influence of womanhood in this Northwest. It is essential that there be common bonds; that the great associated body of womankind shall have, as a foundation, common ideas that are steadfast, common ideals that are resolute, purposes that are unquenchable, condemnations that are consistent, repudiations that are uncompromising. It is also just as essential that every woman in this new West be given to the utmost every opportunity to develop her best self in her own best way.

If this two-sided principle be accepted, then it follows that all associations of women can have no surer influence upon the future than by reaching out everywhere for individuals and setting them in paths leading to larger life. The womanhood of our State suggests not artificial distinctions made by wealth, position or geographical situation, but daughters fit to be the corner stones of the temple; daughters of capacious brain, large heart, simple, sincere life; descendants of pioneer mothers, women whom Bryant has called "Mothers of a mighty race."

The women of the State of Oregon come of a long line of mothers who with fearless eye, lit by deep love's truth, looked steadfastly into the unknown with faith and fortitude. There were mothers, who with their courageous husbands and sons, advanced into the solitudes beyond the

Alleghanies on to the lonely fastnesses along the Ohio. And there was a bride in 1838 who left the gentle counsels of Mt. Holyoke to come with her husband, Elkanah Walker, to the far away shores of the Pacific; with merry heart she rode on horseback over weary miles of tiresome plain. And Narcissa Whitman came to sustain him who had work to do in this lonely West. Companies of women came, bearing in those emigrant wagons few worldly possessions but that which will enrich forevermore this northwest territory. Who can bind the sweet influences of these mothers? They bequeathed to their daughters the gentleness of ministering angels; the endurance of iron; the philosophical mind, that, looking before and after, believing all things work together for good, will plan large results and calmly direct and control forces to bring about those results.

There is in the western mind a peculiar power of organization and of working under organized direction. I have often noticed how natural it seems for a company of young college men to organize into something, elect officers, draft constitution and by-laws, and set to work—or to athletics. If several start on a day's tramp they come back an organized golf club. If two or three meet to study a few lines of the *Æneid* they call themselves *Societas Quirinalis*. A few years ago a class that happened to include but one man, organized, elected that man president, and then carried a motion compelling all members to wear ear-rings as a symbol of membership. A study of the records of the young men who have gone from our State to Eastern colleges will show that the majority of them have been elected to some undergraduate office, and the proportion of Oregon young men now instructing in Eastern institutions is surprising unless explained under the hypothesis that the western mind has peculiar qualities of effectiveness. The remarkable growth of remote

Oregon in all that makes for a commonwealth is surprising unless explained under the same hypothesis. Admiral Dewey, recently at a banquet in Chicago, in speaking of the enlisted men in the navy, said: "These men come largely from the West, and are the finest specimens of manhood that America can produce."

Here in the West, by all evidences, is a peculiar field for organized bodies dedicated to lofty ideals under consecrated leadership.

Miss Fawcett says when the Albemarle, the first woman's club in England, was started there were gloomy forebodings as to its effect "on the foundations of society," and its harm to the womanliness of women. The forerunners of the federated clubs in America were the New England Woman's Club of Boston and the New York Sorosis. The work of these clubs was the study of social questions and their recreations were from art and literature. The Sorosis called the first convention of woman's clubs. This convention has grown into a federation which binds together in common purposes the women of a vast domain, from the New England farms of Vermont to the frontier boundary of Texas; from the gentle, academic environs of Wellesley and Bryn Mawr to the hillsides about the little schoolhouse on the slopes of the coast mountains.

It is indicative of the enlightenment of the West that our own State, great in its distances, great in its growing consciousness of responsibility and in its sure future, has many organizations of women; women interested in literature, art, economics, public health, government, philanthropies; women advocating the higher life, the house beautiful, and whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure and of good report. And, at this auspicious moment, the Oregon women of all these organizations are facing an opportunity hitherto granted to no federation.

Victor Hugo predicted that the nineteenth century would be known as "woman's century," and the remarkable advance surely justifies that prediction. It has been an advance along every line of woman's capacities.

In the cathedral at Durham in northern England a cross is fitted into the stone floor, only a short distance from the door. To-day when a woman visits the cathedral the verger will point out the cross and tell her that once it was the boundary beyond which no woman worshipper could pass. She must remain at a distance from the chancel and the altar; she was not worthy to worship with her husband or son. Pathetic, indeed, that the religious fervor that built that massive cathedral and entombed the venerable Bede within its sacred crypt, yet shut out from woman the solace of higher spiritual communion! The monks of Durham, like many teachers and preachers of long centuries after, held what Lyman Abbott calls the "priestly account" of the creation of the human race. The "prophetic account" has through the last century come more and more into recognition. It holds that both were created for themselves and for God, that they are coequals. Tennyson's lofty interpretation of the destiny of man will endure as truth when Milton's harmonious and wonderful interpretation of the creation of the world will be read only as a poem of magnificent conception.

The spiritual equality of man and woman is no longer a question except in those benighted countries where woman has not yet been permitted to rise into her own estate. Throughout Christendom now there are women working soul to soul and spirit to spirit with consecrated men. In the temples of philanthropy and humanity no cross is set to bar woman from the chancel. In our day if woman has a spiritual message to give and can give it well, who shall set before her a boundary? The tender-

hearted Frances Willard left our country better because she did not keep silence. She left womanhood stronger in faith and in efficiency. Whittier wrote,

“She knew the power of banded ill,
But felt that love was stronger still,
And organized for doing good,
The world’s united womanhood.”

Another means of advance given to woman by the nineteenth century was a growing recognition before the law. A hundred years ago woman had little legal status. Wives and daughters of the poor had no legal standing; mothers did not own their children nor the clothes they wore nor the money they inherited or earned. A married woman could not make a will. Lucretia Mott, of the Society of Friends, in 1848 pleaded for legal rights. The civil war with its devastation brought women face to face with their helplessness before the law. Sympathy and justice were aroused. Bills were devised and passed. Gradually fair and equitable dealing is evolving under the larger conditions of peace and progress. Slowly from precedent to precedent law is broadening in its recognition of inalienable rights of men, women, and children. “Men’s rights” is a term that is sacred. Battles have been fought to secure those rights, documents wrought out to define them, and democracy is ready to defend them. “Women’s rights” will outgrow being a term of reproach. Whether suffrage shall become a possession and responsibility of woman or not, her rights shall become more and more understood and protected by the race. “Children’s rights” engage the attention of philanthropy and the judiciary. The juvenile courts are more concerned with justice to childhood than with punishment of wrong. In deed and in truth “right” and “rights” for all alike are becoming more identical in the public mind and so law broadens in its definition and application.

No larger recognition has been given than to woman's right to earn her living. What a marvelous transformation here in the last half of the nineteenth century! When Harriet Martineau visited our country in 1840 she found only seven occupations open to women: Teaching, needlework, typesetting, working in factories, keeping boarders, binding books, and household service. The last report of the Commissioner of Labor names over three hundred ways in which women may earn an honest living. The economic development of the country brought larger industrial demands. The invention of machinery, the establishment of factories took the manufacture of cloth and clothing from the home. A man could not and can not provide for his family when he must buy so much that used to be home-made. Women were driven into wage-earning occupations, and society soon realized the need of higher education and better qualifications. Occupations have grown with the complexity of life, and women are demonstrating that they are able to do work of many kinds. In 1890 one woman in six was engaged in gainful occupations; nearly four millions of working women; now there are over five millions. The Rev. Lyman Abbott, in a recent number of *The World's Work*, points out some of the results of this industrial growth: "Better wages to self-supporting women; enlarged opportunities for productive industry; consequent industrial independence for unmarried women; a resultant release from the odious compulsion which drove women into marriage as the only means of livelihood open to them."

Economic dependence is the basis of all slavery. To-day in any large city scores of women are enjoying the health and independence that come from labor and the approval of public opinion.

The growing complexity of life during the last seventy years, the growing demands from women in the working

world, the increase of art and refinements,—these have brought new ambitions and necessities that can only be met through higher education.

A comparison of woman's condition at the opening and the close of the nineteenth century in educational affairs alone would show the truth of Victor Hugo's prediction. In the time of Hannah More it was unwomanly to learn Latin; eighty years ago Sidney Smith tried to reassure the readers of the *Edinburgh Review* that womanly qualities did not really depend on ignorance of Greek and Latin, and that "a woman might even learn mathematics without forsaking her infant for a quadratic equation." It was once unwomanly to write a book and had electric cars existed it would have been unwomanly to ride in one,—as it actually was in a hansom cab.

In our country at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was generally assumed that intellectual matters did not concern woman. No colleges for her existed, though I believe there were twenty-four for men; girls had no high schools, and grammar schools in cities were open to them under restrictions.

One of the earliest pioneers in establishing a girl's seminary was Miss Willard, who laid her plans before President Monroe in 1819, and her address reads to-day as a wise presentation of the needs of a republic for trained womanhood. Miss Willard conducted her school in Troy, N. Y., for seventeen years with great success. Then another pioneer, Mary Lyon, recognizing that women must be fitted if a nation would prosper, inspired both men and women to believe that knowledge and character must be at the foundation of woman's influence. In 1837 Mt. Holyoke Seminary was established in Massachusetts. The influence of Mary Lyon still lives in devoted teachers, seminaries, and colleges all over our country. Who can estimate the debt of womanhood in the Northwest to

Mrs. Mills of California, who embodies the spirit of her own beloved teacher, Mary Lyon?

Ohio has the distinction of first admitting women into its colleges. Oberlin opened in 1833 as a collegiate institute and admitted women. It granted three diplomas in 1841 to women and was chartered as a college in 1850. Antioch College opened to both men and women in 1853 under Horace Mann, a pioneer friend of college women. In 1855 Elmira College was the first woman's college chartered.

About the middle of the century three movements began which have spread rapidly: the opening of state universities to women; the founding of coeducational colleges, and the organization of women's colleges. From their opening the state universities have admitted women as follows: Utah, 1850; Iowa, 1856; Washington, 1862; Kansas, 1866; Minnesota, 1868; Nebraska, 1871; Oregon, 1876. Indiana, founded in 1820, opened its doors in 1868; Michigan, in 1870. At present all the colleges and universities in the West,—excepting those under Catholic management,—admit women, though Stanford University will not admit more than 500 at one time. A few years ago among the state universities Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana alone remained closed. In addition to all these open doors immense endowments were bestowed upon colleges during this period. At the end of the nineteenth century the United States had 480 colleges and 336 admitted women. Of the sixty leading colleges only ten (all on the Atlantic Coast) did not admit women to some department. The four leading women's colleges,—Vassar, 1861, Smith, 1875, Wellesley, 1875, Bryn Mawr, 1885, stand among the sixty leading colleges in wealth, equipment, teachers, students, and curricula. Indeed, it is said that a woman who completes the course at Bryn Mawr does more work than is required in any man's college.

Women have proved capacity and desire for training. In 1872 America had 50 college women to each million population; in 1899, 323. In 1900 a third of all the college students in America were women: 4,000 in women's colleges; 20,000 in coeducational institutions.

It is not necessary at this time to enter upon an argument for the increased efficiency of these women and of the homes, communities, and nation to which they belong. One prodigious undertaking alone is their work as teachers in the secondary schools and the colleges. The purpose of all education is to develop character and the chief test of character is to render service. Service is the end; education only the means. A French writer has said "The test of civilization is the place which it affords to women." Is it not true that the test of an educated woman is some sort of service to her day and generation?

We are as thoroughly committed to higher education of women as to universal education of the masses. We have faith to believe that such education not only imparts information, but lessens wrong and crime, lessens temptation, increases content and happiness, increases the earning power of the working woman, increases the influence of mother and daughter and sister in the home, increases the refined qualities and graces of womanhood, and the effective forces of the nation.

Individuals there were, in the older times, queens of powerful nations, mothers of mighty rulers. We may regard as an omen that it was Isabella that aided Columbus; the peasant girl Joan of Arc heard voices calling her to rescue France. The women of our nation erected last summer at the head of the grand entrance to the beautiful Lewis and Clark Exposition a bronze statue designed by a woman to the memory of Sacajawea, whose intrepid valor and courageous soul and mother's heart guided Lewis and Clark through trackless forests, over

unscaled mountains to these shores. What soul of womanhood pent up in the child-mother Sacajawea! As she heard the cooing of the baby she carried she never forgot that she was a guide, a lamp unto the feet of valiant men; a lover of baby Baptiste, her husband Charboneau, her people the Shoshones, she never relinquished her mission: to lead men to the land they sought for. The humble Indian woman, like Spencer's Britomart, was "clear to discern her aim; as valiant to pursue it."

Our country can not forget that it was the burning heart of Harriet Beecher Stowe that set communities aflame with indignation at the wrongs of slavery. England will never forget that the tender heart of Florence Nightingale in ministering to the Crimean soldiers laid the foundation of the humane hospitals of modern wars. It is these women who have seen the thing to do and have done the thing. that made possible the great advance. It has been the faith, the hope, the enthusiasm of strong men and women that have made possible the steady climb of manhood and womanhood; they rise together. And it is indeed a lofty height to which our nation has arisen at the beginning of this century.

More favorable environments should produce larger results; more favorable possessions should bring larger returns and prompt larger benefactions. The democracy and isolation of the new world gave new opportunities to our race. The freedom, power, vantage ground of this new empire of the West bestows a new opportunity upon the women of these northern States. The women of Idaho, Washington, Oregon have an inheritance now in their keeping that is inspiring; all that the nineteenth century accomplished in spiritual freedom, in legal protection, industrial possibility, educational benevolence and benefi-

cence,—all this rich inheritance is ours to begin with. Therefore we have the means to seize a new opportunity in the world's history.

Our unique historical and social setting is inspiring. If not "the noblest offspring of time," this Western civilization is surely a choice product of time. Those who laid its foundations were a peculiar type, pioneers of the pioneers, men and women of heroic mould.

"Stern men with empires in their brains,
Grown strong through shifts and wants and pains;
Men, skilled by freedom and by great events,
To pitch new States as Old-World men pitch tents."

The framework they erected was in accord with the might and majesty of nature around them and the puissant ambitions within them. Their purpose was writ large; they planted universities in log houses in the wilderness and established a Christian civilization. Shut in by ocean and mountain-barrier, this vast region slowly became the home of a group of states. No problem of alien blood is here; no problem of crowded poverty is here; no menace from anarchy; no blight of atheism. A home sweet with the odors of forest trees, fragrant with the breath of wild flowers, purified by cleansing torrents, cooled by snow-capped mountains piercing skies whose blue would have entranced Ruskin and the painters who first saw nature; a home of virgin fields and virgin gold; a home of villages and towns and wholesome simplicity and generous hospitality. And we of Oregon have come up and possessed part of this land. The doors of our State are open to the world and a vast procession is tending thitherward. Time and the race have so decreed. We can not call a halt if we would. In the next ten years towns will grow into cities; farms into towns; remote settlements into neighborhoods.

Hence it is that the women of Oregon, inheriting the best attained by the womanhood of time, possessing this beautiful home and standing on the threshold to greet the incoming civilization,—are facing a new opportunity that in magnitude, in possibilities, exceeds any before placed in the keeping of a company of women.

Language is inadequate to express crises in history; words are weak to reveal a supreme moment in the development of a noble epic. And so now how shall I utter the thoughts that arise as I try to define this crisis, this supreme historical moment?

What peculiar responsibility is given into the keeping of the women of our day and region? It is this: *It is an opportunity to aid in establishing standards of social character and attainment in the making of a great State from its infancy to its maturity.* A woman in Massachusetts or Ohio to-day touches a fractional part of State history; a woman in Oregon to-day is herself part of a transfiguration. Whenever in history has there been so rapid and so vast a growth as will take place in the Northwest in the next fifty years? A seer standing on our Pacific shores, looking into the faces of our Western children, might well prophesy:

“Here about the beach I wandered, nourishing a youth sublime
With the fairy tales of science, and the long result of Time;
When the centuries behind me like a fruitful land reposed;
When I clung to all the present for the promise that it closed;
When I dipt into the future far as human eye could see;
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be.”

A civilization now in its beginnings will pass through youth to middle age in a lifetime and the young men and women about us will guide it to its maturity. No ruins are here. The work is one of construction. It is a responsibility to tear down errors of the past and to put in their places new ideals. It is a greater responsibility to hold

fast to the truth in the past, undisturbed by the crowding fads and theories in the complex, unsettled, experimental conditions of the present. It is the greatest responsibility to lay foundations for the future in which no flaw may be discovered to weaken the structure.

It is for Oregon to hold fast only to the best in the old, to evolve into the new, and to accept no block in the structure it is rearing that can not stand the test of time. As freedom has broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent,—so has civilization. But this “broadened slowly” was said by an Englishman fifty years ago; “expanded rapidly” will be said by a Westerner fifty years hence.

In the preparation for the rapid growth on this coast women have already had an important part. Mrs. Mills, Mrs. Hearst, and Mrs. Stanford, in California, have laid enduring foundations for education. In Portland, Miss Smith for the library; Mrs. Ladd for the Art Museum; Mrs. Reed for the Reed Institute; for cultured, ennobled womanhood, Miss Mary B. Rodney. It would be impossible to name here the many workers in many fields: pioneer women who endured and had faith; who saw visions of the future; who led their children and neighbors along paths of hope and action.

There must be leaders in adversity. But there is still greater need of leadership in times of prosperity, when something of enthusiasm fills the air and great projects are talked of. Here and now such a period is upon us. Leaders are wanted in every town and in every country-community. Women are needed in every district of our State who see into the future; who shall lay plans and organize means to prepare a womanhood fit to shape that future. No ideal of womanhood and womanliness is too lofty for Oregon to reach; and none is too inaccessible.

But forces must be alert that would prepare for the demands of the next ten and twenty-five years.

I would like in the time remaining to try to group together a few plans, familiar though they be, through which our federations and all our associations of Oregon women,—each in its own way,—may prepare to meet the larger statehood upon whose threshold we now stand. These plans group themselves about two centers: the conservation of the home and the building of the State.

Our age is becoming commercial and material and money-making. In the hurry that is coming upon us bridges must be built, ships sent across the waters, railroads must pierce the Cascades. Our mountain streams must be converted into colored electric lights “watching Tacoma grow.” Money will pour into our valleys and the race for wealth and dominion will be quickened. What shall women and organizations of women do? Far be it from our federation to think that they shall enter into the race for wealth and dominion! It is a time for thoughtful working out of plans that will keep alive and foster the finer issues of mind and heart and soul and spirit. There must be inculcated the supreme belief in goodness as the one law of life. If we would secure honesty in public service we must have honesty and unquestioning obedience in childhood. At the root of civic integrity is childhood in the home and school. Modern methods of home keeping and school keeping can not supplant the influence of the sterling virtues on the growing child. Ever should plans for the improvement of any enterprise in a community point like the needle to the north pole of integrity in all that enters into the character and habits of the youth. It goes without saying that the home is the first source of honesty and righteousness. Constancy there, pride in the home and an enduring love of it will engender a sentiment that will make impossible the growing

idea that a decree of court absolves all responsibility. Broken homes, broken words, broken vows, broken contracts, broken lives,—how often these result somewhere in further dishonor and dishonesty!

The rapid growth of the cities with the restlessness and temptations of city life is a menace to the old-fashioned attraction of the home and faithfulness to it. To the children reared in the country home the big fireplace is the center around which they revolve. In the early evenings they listen to father's counsel and prognostication of national affairs; they grow under the affectionate virtue of mother. No centrifugal force is strong enough to attract them from that center. A safeguard for the West is the conversion of our great ranches and vast tracts of unoccupied land into small farms and then such a management of suburban schools and traveling libraries and the refinements of culture as to surround these country homes with the advantages of the city. Is it not a problem for sociology to work out? And surely never was a better opportunity than here with soil so productive; resources so varied. Cheap railway transportation sometimes means cheap immigration and overcrowded cities. Oregon is too choice and has too great a future to build to be encumbered with other than good raw material out of which to make a State. If the thoughtful sociologist and the beneficent railways will only combine to protect our cities from worthless migratory classes; to fill our verdant country lands with home-building immigrants there will be indeed, for altruistic women, an opportunity to aid in building a commonwealth.

In so far as the inner life of a home may be influenced by environments is it possible and practical to plan for the strengthening of the home life of a community and no phase of life, in country or city, is too unimportant to engage notice. So closely is physical health connected

with moral health that incalculable good may result from the creation of sanitary conditions. And so associations of women are going to the root of the matter when they bring about improvements in the public health, in the inspection and display of foods, in the supply and quality of water, in the establishing of public baths. It was women who influenced the appointment of Colonel Waring, the great health officer, to superintend the sanitation of New York City.

The courses in domestic science at the Agricultural College in Corvallis are demonstrating to many homes not only the health and economy in foods scientifically prepared, but what is of hardly less importance, something of the grace and beauty in the drudgery of everyday life. The association of everyday work on the farm,—for the men in the fields, for the women in the homes,—with the processes of science is uplifting and enlightening. It dignifies toil, brings reproach upon prodigality and neglect, and magnifies the relation of order and beauty of surroundings to good health.

Homes must be kept sweet, wholesome, and attractive if their inmates would be kept loyal, and surely there is no nobler work for woman than to conserve inviolability in the home-spirit through all the means possible. Health, cheerfulness, comfort inside and nature outside make a home dear. May the day never come when a large population of Oregon will dwell in apartment houses with window gardens for nature! The ownership of a home with a yard and trees, flowers, and garden—can not this desire and tradition be fostered in our towns? Simplicity in the home, and nature, face to face, in its surroundings generate loyalty and truth in its household. Now is the time to plan for parks on a neighboring hill, or by the stream or lake, before land has grown too valuable and trees too scarce. Now is the time to preserve our beautiful native

shrubs and vines and wild flowers. In Stratford-upon-Avon in a little garden at the rear of the house in which Shakespeare was born, you may see at any hour of the day a care-taker affectionately cultivating and preserving in their immortal freshness all the flowers Shakespeare loved well enough to mention in his plays.

"Daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty; violets dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses.
* * * * *
In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white;
Like sapphire, pearl, and rich embroidery."

And though the buttercups still gild the fields on the way to Shottery they find a place in a little corner of that garden.

Some of our infinite varieties of flowers in valley and on mountain side might be collected and preserved in the town gardens. The *Calypso Borealis*, the most beautiful orchid native to parts of our Willamette Valley, is fast disappearing. The tall Oregon lily in our sunny fields and the maidenhair ferns in our cool ravines will not refuse to grow if nurtured by loving children in the school-yards. A member of the Fortnightly Club in Eugene is principal of one of the schools there. Every class in that large building has a flower bed, and in the early spring the children begin to cultivate their gardens. Many transplant their new-found industry and knowledge and love to the home gardens.

Another conservator of the home is public recognition of noble traits of character or great deeds. Monuments and memorials that testify before children to faithfulness to duty are like anchors to public morals. Until the last few years no public monument stood on Oregon soil and now they can be counted on the fingers of two hands.

How might the youth be inspired if forces were set going that might dot Oregon with shafts, statues, memorial windows and tablets to the good and great of history! In one community let a bronze statue of Chief Justice Marshall remind youth of the integrity of law; on the walls of a courthouse let a tablet inscribe the virtues of some Oregon pioneer. In the English city of Bristol, on a statue in memory of Edmund Burke, is the inscription: "I want to be a member of Parliament in order to take my share in doing good and resisting evil." In a corridor of Oxford University hangs an inscription of a letter by Abraham Lincoln to a Massachusetts mother whose five sons had died gloriously on the field of battle. Among all the lessons of the Lewis and Clark Fair none is more lasting than the teaching of reverence for those who have achieved through difficulty, who were steadfast through danger.

It may take fifty years to carry out large plans that will make Oregon a witness to the best in the past, but the preparation will foster reverence and stimulate ambition. It is significant to the youth of our State that the oldest building on the campus of the State University is named Deady Hall in memory of one who for nearly twenty years as first president of its board of regents was devoted to its interests. Villard Hall keeps ever before them the generosity of a benefactor, the faith of Henry Villard in the West and in higher education. McClure Hall with its marble tablet in the entrance corridor reminds the students of the industry, devotion, and manliness of a fellow student and a beloved instructor.

Emerson said when he read Plato all men seemed to him gods. Admiral Dewey said when he stood before the statue of Ethan Allen as a boy in his native town he resolved to make something of himself. What the boys and girls breathe into their souls they give out in character and achievement and citizenship.

Results may be raised to the n^{th} power by manifold utilization of means. Our State Board of Education and State Library Commission give avenues always through which the homes and the State may be reached directly. We have one hundred and twenty schools doing high school work scattered over the State; twenty of these do four years' work, and twenty more three years' work. There is one interesting venture: a union high school at Hood River collecting students from several districts. There are forty traveling libraries going about the State. One of the commissioners, Mr. W. B. Ayer of Portland, has just given another \$500 to the library fund. Now, are not each of these one hundred and twenty high schools and forty traveling libraries means through which far-seeing women of the State may achieve two or three things at once?

In contemplating the ways and means at command through which to aid permanently in the building of a State a peculiarly congenial field offers a plan that must come in early in provisions for the welfare of any community, and that is a plan to develop definite, feasible methods of fostering industry, manufacture of something, the love of labor and the productive spirit. Whatever we wish to put into Oregon's life we must put into Oregon's homes and Oregon's schools. Not the idle whittling of many whistles and the noisy blowing of them is the best thing for a boy. Let him grow early into the knowledge that he can make things for use and for beauty; let the girl early learn how to shape cloth into a garment. Manual training for boys and girls means more than dexterity. The use of the hands and the achievement of things home-made and hand-made with the growing sense of power over raw material and love of industry,—these will give vigor to any community; will help to prevent

wasted days and wasted lives for young men and indolence and frivolty for young women.

Over 2,500 boys are taking courses in manual training in the Portland public schools. Professor Stanley, the superintendent, lately said: "Some of these boys have recently made a weaving loom for the manufacture of rag carpet, and a potter's wheel for the manufacture of pottery. Others plan this winter to make an artistic piece of furniture, art metal work, tools, and other things." Sewing classes are organized and domestic science is under consideration for the girls.

A lecturer at the Educational Congress last summer said: "The rural schools of our country train nearly one half of the citizens and they should adopt manual training." Industry is the mother of invention; invention is the forerunner of art. France is first in art because the people are trained as to the hand. Germany is first in industry because the teaching is of the man, the citizen. The master of Germany is the schoolmaster. Nothing promotes honest labor more surely than power to labor effectively. Nothing promotes art more surely than power to labor constructively. Nothing promotes a home-building nation more surely than steady habits of self-reliance and self-support.

There is in our day an outcry against women as wage-earners; and let the cry go on. It is a healthful cry for women and more especially for men. The greatest danger growing out of the fact that women are crowding into the offices and professions is not that men are crowded out, but that too many men are growing indifferent, willing to be crowded out. As men grow indifferent to their responsibility and duty to care for the women of their households they lose fibre, initiative, stature, physical and mental. Stand on a busy street corner in one of our large eastern cities and note the great number of young

men, low of stature, weak of physique; a powerfully-built young man is the exception. Is vigor of intellect, intellectual independence sure to wane with a sense of financial responsibility? Young men indifferent, relieved of the stress and strain of helping to clothe and feed the household have leisure and relaxation of body and mind. Leisure for what? Comradeship; wasteful hours of idle, aimless talk. It is not *leisure* but *labor* that young men need. Labor and sacrifice and responsibility make manhood and nations.

Emancipation of women—so-called—must not contribute toward putting the shackles of indolence, irresponsibility, aimlessness upon men. The work of women must coöperate with the work of men and inspire it, else women would better forever remain in the home, and leave man to wrestle with the outside world as his sphere to subdue unaided and alone. In the transformation now going on here is a problem for woman to work out: How to burgeon out of herself, not encroaching upon the rights of others, not minimizing the powers of others. "Balance of trade" is much talked of in the commercial world; "balance of labor," "balance of financial responsibility"; "balance of industrial ambition";—violation of these is unsafe for the home and for society. Society to preserve itself and to evolve into higher conditions must develop lines of activity for both men *and* woman and however many lines are identical every community ought to provide work and workers in lines not identical, and there should be enough variety and attractiveness about these kinds of work to give every man an opportunity and every woman an opportunity.

It must be recognized as best in our present conditions of society and as best for the hopes of society that women be prepared to enter the avenues of self-support if necessary. Slavery and subservience result from dependence

that is not justifiable. Content and happiness come to her and to him whose labor is wisely adjusted. And surely an equitable adjustment so that neither crowd out the other can be arrived at and preserved. If so, then will not, in the long run, the civilization be saner and more philanthropic if woman help to build it? As woman enters the daily toil she will learn of the travail under which the world struggles. She will learn how man has to strive to maintain himself and those dependent upon him and how he has sometimes to agonize. And if they mutually find that their cause is mutual may not the world grow? It is not woman's rivalry and man's defeat that labor wants, but woman's faith and patience and spirit and man's persistence and conquest.

But if the schools take no part in developing the great need of our growing communities, many kinds of work and different kinds, and in training the hands and habits of the boys and girls,—then will our larger Oregon suffer from dissatisfaction and contention, indolence, and inefficiency.

Sir Galahad had the strength of ten men because his heart was pure. In the next twenty, ten, and even five years we shall be in a struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy. There must be skilled, expert workmen to direct and educated leaders to organize, and more than all, there must be integrity and character that will not yield to the temptations of money making. There must be education for commerce, education for trades, education for agriculture, ships and ship lore for the Orient, inland lore for the Occident, cosmopolitan lore,—we must know it all. But we must hold fast to education for culture, for refinement, for pure love of knowledge and wisdom, for purity of heart. We need education of the soul and spirit regardless of wealth and dominion.

This was the ideal of those early pioneers who founded Willamette University, the first protestant institution this side the Rocky Mountains ; Pacific University, whose first graduate has borne witness these many years to its rigorous standards of integrity. Mr. Henry Villard whose unbounded faith in the people and resources of the Northwest led him to build a great transcontinental line, recognized that educated citizenship and character are the best possessions of a State. His benefactions to the State University grow in value with time and scores of men and women are blessed in his generosity.

There is in the field of higher education a great work to be done in our State. Ought not our people to cultivate in our boys and girls, young men and maidens, during the four college years, love of home and loyalty to State, and a sense of responsibility for its welfare ? What of the wisdom in having large numbers go abroad for undergraduate work ? Our home institutions need to be developed to be worthy of the best that Oregon can do for its youth.

It is indeed enriching to our State-life that from year to year students return bringing home something of the wealth of thought and culture from the great colleges. And the coming years will add increasingly to this value from our professional and graduate students. But as our material prosperity grows there must be larger equipment for our undergraduate work. Libraries are to be collected and housed ; laboratories are to be fitted ; art must be brought that the youth may find kinship with the masters and that an artistic spirit may be fostered into creative power. Above all there must be communion with the great and good. No institution can fulfill its mission in the Northwest that does not establish and hold traditions for democracy and lofty patriotism, and reverence for holy things.

Our Oregon colleges have thus far written no mean records. You may find on any campus in the State a pure democracy. The standard is *merit*, not wealth or influence. What a man *is* establishes his position. Large members of the students are self-supporting and from humble homes. The idle spending of money is rare. It sounds strange indeed to say, in these days of college extravagance, that at our State University \$350 will provide all the needs for a college year, for a man or woman, comfortably. I know of but one student who spends as much as \$500, though he is not limited. He is a lover of books, and too busy to desire luxuries.

I plead that the women of our State visit our colleges and enter into the sacrifices, purposes, and longings of the students, and so fill those students with their own ideals and larger faith and aspirations.

Emerson says: "The youth who surrenders himself to a great ideal himself becomes great." How to bring the youth into the presence of great ideals,—this is a work for our federations. What better way is there for our far-seeing women and our organizations to meet the new opportunity now confronting us than by aiding young women of the State to grow into nobler ideals? There are daughters everywhere in Oregon who are longing for a glimpse into the beauties of art, the heavenly fields of larger thought. One earnest, devoted woman who has secured efficiency through higher education is of untold value to a community in her influence for character and for all that refines and purifies. There is no surer way for the clubs to contribute to the welfare and steadiness and loftiness of our larger State life than by aiding our women to secure increased powers and deepened spirituality. It seems most fitting that every club select, in its community, some young woman of promise who could not hope unaided to secure a higher education, and through some

annual fund, small though it be, help her to help herself. Let each woman's club in the State thus foster the true college education of some high-minded girl, and there will come to Oregon added strength in the forces that make for grace and charity and reverence and beauty of holiness.

And so I come to the close. A modern State is building before our eyes as a representative of modern civilization. The corner stones were firmly laid. Within a lifetime we shall see the capitals crown the columns. Here and now is indeed a new opportunity for free woman inspired by love. In the materialistic years of construction, of conquest over matter, as a commonwealth rises from foundation to pinnacles it is for her, singing the deathless song of idealism, nourishing exaltation of the soul, to keep burning the pure, white light of moral integrity, culture, and righteousness.

THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE LAND.

A Brief History of Early Horticulture in Oregon.

By DR. J. R. CARDWELL, Portland.

For many years president of the Oregon State Horticultural Society.

The first settlers found here in the indigenous fruits, a promise of the abundant yield of the cultivated varieties which they were not long in introducing with most gratifying results. There were here the apple—*pyrus rivularia*; the plum—*prunus subcordata*; the grape—*vitis Californica*; two elderberries—*sambucus glauca* and *sambucus pubescens*; the blackberry—*rubus ursinus*; four raspberries—*rubus nutkanus*, *rubus leucodermis*, *rubus pedatus*, and *rubus spectabilis*; the strawberry—*fragaria Chilensis*; several wild currants—*ribes aureum*, and others; three gooseberries, edible—*ribes Menziesii*; four or more cranberries—*vaccinium parvifolium*, *vaccinium ovalifolium*, *vaccinium macrophyllum*; the barberry—*berberis aquifolium*, known as the Oregon grape, our State flower; salal—*gaultheria myrsinites*; Juneberry or service berry, black haw—*crataegus Douglasii*; filbert—*corylus rostrata*; chinquapin chesnut—*castanopsis crysophylla*, and others perhaps not enumerated.

The introduction of the first cultivated fruits in the country in 1824 by employees of the Hudson Bay Company is a pretty story with a touch of romance. At a dinner given in London, in 1824, to several young men in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company bound for the far distant Pacific Coast, a young lady at a table, beside one of the young gentlemen, ate an apple, carefully wrapped the seeds in a paper and placed them in the vest pocket of the young gentleman, with the request that when he

arrived in the Oregon Country he should plant them and grow apple trees. The act was noticed and in a spirit of merriment other ladies present from the fruits of the table put seeds of apple, pears, peach, and grape into the vest pockets of all the gentlemen. On their arrival at the Hudson Bay fort at Vancouver the young gentlemen gave the seeds to the company's gardener, James Bruce, who planted them in the spring of 1825. From these seeds came the trees now growing on the grounds of the Vancouver barracks, as transferred to the Government on the disbanding of the company. This story we have from David McLoughlin, the son of Dr. John McLoughlin, Mrs. McLoughlin, Mrs. Whitman, in part, and others.

Mrs. Whitman, in September, 1836, in a letter to her mother, writes of her visit to Vancouver, and her admiration of these fruit trees and their fruits as follows: "On arriving at Vancouver we were met by several gentlemen who came to give us a welcome. Mr. Douglas and Doctor Tolmie and Doctor McLoughlin of the Hudson Bay Company who invited us in and seated us on a sofa. Soon we were introduced to Mrs. McLoughlin and Mrs. Tolmie, both natives of the country, half-breeds; after chatting a little we were invited to take a walk in the garden. What a delightful place it is, what a contrast to the rough barren plains through which we had so recently passed: here we find fruits of every description, apples, grapes, pears, plums, and fig trees in abundance; also cucumbers, melons, beans, pease, beets, cabbage, tomatoes, and every kind of vegetable. Every part is very neat and tastefully arranged with fine walks lined on either side with strawberries; at the end of the garden is a summer house with grapevines."

The apple and the pear trees, and the grapevines from these seeds are yet annually bearing fruits on the grounds of the government barracks at Vancouver. Not long ago

I visited these seedling trees, now eighty years old, hoary chroniclers of time, yet showing a vigorous growth. Mrs. Gay Hayden, of Vancouver, informed me she had eaten fruit from these trees for fifty-four years. The fruit is not large, but of fair quality. Fortunately Government does not allow a tree to be removed or destroyed without an order from the department. Capt. Nathaniel Wyeth, in his diary of 1835, speaks of having grafted trees on his place, Fort William, on Wapattoo Island, now called Sauvies' Island. Grafts and stock must have come from the Sandwich Islands, then the nearest point to the cultivated fruits which early missionaries had brought to these islands. As Captain Wyeth left the country soon after, we have no record of his success with these fruits. As Indians and trappers had little care for trees or cultivated fruits, this venture can not be considered in any historical record of the introduction of grafted fruit in Oregon.

The Hudson Bay Company introduced the first cultivated rose, as early as 1830, a pink rose, with the attar of rose aroma. An occasional Hudson Bay rose may yet be seen in the old yards in Oregon City and at Vancouver. It is sometimes called the Mission rose. Miss Ella Talbot, on Talbot Hill, just south of Portland Heights, has one more than forty years old. The Biddle rose—the Chinese Daly—1852, probably the second importation. The Gillette rose, 1853, the third and most valuable, is now widely distributed. The cut-leaved Evergreen blackberry came from the Sandwich Islands. I first saw it early in the fifties, covering a thirty-foot trellis in the dooryard of J. B. Stevens—"Uncle Jimmie Stevens," as he was known. From him I learned that it came from the Sandwich Islands, reported to be a native of one of the South Sea islands. One of the Feejee islands is covered with it. Seth Lewelling originated the Lewelling, the Black Republican, and the Bing cherries, in the sixties. The Bing

was named after a faithful old Chinaman. He also originated the Golden prune in 1876. The Silver prune was a misnomer of Coe's Golden Drop, perpetrated by a nurseryman about 1875. The Lambert cherry was grown by J. H. Lambert and presented by him to the Oregon State Horticultural Society at the annual meeting of 1896. The Bremen prune, the Imperial Precose, the Ickwort plum, Reine-Claude, Vert, and the favorite French table plum, the Merabel, were in my importations from Germany in 1872. The Bullock prunes were seedlings of the seventies grown by Mr. Bullock near Oswego. A. R. Shipley, some time in the sixties, imported from the Eastern States forty-five varieties of grapes, American and European varieties. For some years he grew quite a vineyard, was an enthusiast in grape culture—a business man retired to the country for love of horticulture. A close observer and a good cultivator, he did valuable work for the grape industry, and was the acknowledged authority on the subject. He discarded all European varieties, and advised the cultivation of only the American varieties for the Willamette Valley. In answer to my request to name the three best varieties for the market, he said, "If I were setting out three hundred grapes to-day, I would first set one hundred Concords, then another one hundred Concords, then another one hundred Concords," adding, "that is, to make money."

In early days we had agricultural literature. The first paper was the *Oregon Farmer*, August, 1858, published at Portland by W. B. Taylor & Co., Albert G. Walling, editor. A file of that paper in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society reads well to-day. It was published from 1858 to 1863. Then came the *Oregon Agriculturist*, Salem, 1870 to 1872, by A. L. Stinson. E. M. Waite published a paper for a time in Salem. The *North Pacific Rural Spirit*, W. W. Baker, publisher and editor, Portland, started in 1867, is

now published and edited by M. D. Wisdom. To-day we have the *Rural Spirit*, Portland, *Pacific Homestead*, Salem, and *Oregon Agriculturist and Rural Northwest*, Portland, published and edited by H. M. Williamson, and the *North-west Pacific Farmer*, Portland, published and edited by Frank Lee.

The early history of fruit-growing presents to the student at once, a most romantic and a thoroughly practical and matter-of-fact series of interesting pictures. It is related of some of the earliest settlers in the Willamette Valley that nothing more thoroughly and painfully accentuated their isolated condition than the absence of fruit trees on their newly-made farms. Half the beauty and pleasure that brightens the life of youth and childhood, it is not too much to say, is found in the orchard of the old homestead—the sight of the trees in bloom, the waiting and watching for the first ripe fruit, the in-gathering of the fruit in the fall, and the storing of it away in bin and cellar for use in the winter around the ingleside.

Is it any wonder, then, that when some of the early settlers were called to southern Oregon to aid their fellow-countrymen in repelling the attacks of Indians, and finding there wild plums and wild grapes, they brought with them on their return, roots of the former and cuttings of the latter, in the hope that these foundlings of the southern forest would take kindly to a more northern soil? In this act of transplanting was illustrated the world's hunger for the fruit of the vine and tree, so beautifully illustrated by Whittier in his poem commencing with these lines:

“The wild grape by the river side
And tasteless ground-nut trailing low,
The table of the woods supplied.”

The old Puritans could not have been such terribly stern and uncompromising foes of the good things of life,

after all, since they knew enough to find gustatory delight in such fruits as kind mother Nature provided for them in their exile.

Fruit culture is most fascinating and ennobling, as well as the most profitable branch of horticulture, and the advance in the fruit product is evidence of the culture and civilization of a people. It is hard to overestimate the beneficial influence on health, morals, and manners of a generous fruit supply. The ornamental grounds and orchards of the homestead do much in childhood to strengthen that love of home and pride of family which is the foundation of all patriotism. The cherished memories of home thus enriched are, in after life, the strongest bond of family to bring back the absent and wandering to the roof tree; and the erring one is not wholly lost as long as these sacred memories of home and childhood sometimes come to swell the heart and dim the eye with the tear of repentance and contrition.

The fruit industry as a business, in its variety, extent, and commercial importance, as we find it to-day, is of recent origin and within the memory of the present generation,—a worthy tribute to the brain and muscle of men of our time. National and international communication over water and land, the use of railroads with cheap freight rates and rapid transit in fruit and refrigerator cars created the supply; conversely the supply increased creates the greatest demand—an inexorable law of trade. The intelligent foresight and patient labors of those who inaugurated this industry in the far-off wilds of Oregon, are worthy a place in the archives of the State, and should be kept green in the memory of those to come after us.

In the summer of 1847, Mr. Henderson Luelling,¹ of Iowa, brought across the plains several hundred yearling grafted sprouts—apple, pear, cherry, plum, prune, peach, grape, and berries—a full assortment of all the fruits grown in the then far West. These were placed in soil in two large boxes, made to fit into a wagon bed, and carefully watered and tended on the long and hazardous six-months' journey with an ox team, thousands of miles to the banks of the Willamette just north of the little townsite of Milwaukie, Clackamas County.

Here a little patch in the dense fir forest was cleared away with great labor and expense, and the first Oregon orchard was set that autumn with portent more significant for the luxury and civilization of this country, than any laden ship that ever entered the mouth of the Columbia. A fellow traveler, William Meek, had also brought a sack of apple seed and a few grafted trees; a partnership was formed and the firm of Luelling & Meek started the first nursery in 1848. Roots from seedling apples planted at Oregon City and on French Prairie, and sprouts from the wild cherry of the vicinity, and wild plum roots brought in from Rogue River Valley, furnished the first stock. And it is related that one root graft in the nursery the first year bore a big red apple, and so great was the fame of it, and such the curiosity of the people, that

¹It will be noticed that there is a difference in the spelling of the names of Henderson Luelling and Seth Lewelling. As they were brothers the discrepancy may seem to suggest an error in one case or the other. The explanation is this, it being given me by Alfred Luelling, a son of Henderson, a few years ago: The family, originally, came from Wales, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century settled in North Carolina. Soon after arriving the head of the family decided to change the name from the usual Welsh style of writing it—Llewellyn to Luelling, in order to simplify it as much as possible. This was the practice of the family when the children were born—Henderson on April 23, 1809, and Seth several years later. During his whole life Henderson followed the spelling adopted by his father; and that was the custom of Seth until late in life—at least as late as 1875—as is shown by his nursery catalogues which I printed. Soon after the latter year he adopted "Lewelling" as his mode of spelling the name, but "Luelling" was the style retained by the remainder of the family.—GEORGE H. HIMES.

men, women, and children came from miles around to see it, and made a hard beaten track through the nursery to this joyous reminder of the old homestead so far away.

Ralph C. Geer also came in 1847 and brought one bushel of apple seeds and half a bushel of pear seeds, and was one of the first to plant an orchard in the Waldo Hills.

People in those days in this sparsely settled country knew what their neighbors were doing, and in the fall of 1848 and spring of 1849, they came hundreds of miles from all over the country for scions and young trees to set in the little dooryard or to start an orchard; so that the trees were soon distributed all over the settlements of the valley—yearlings selling at fifty cents to one dollar each.

The first considerable orchards were set on French Prairie, and in the Waldo hills and about Salem. Of apples the following varieties were common: Red Astrachan, Red June, Talman's Sweet, Summer Sweet, Gravenstein, White Winter Pearmain, Blue Pearmain, Genet, Gloria Mundi, Baldwin, Rambo, Winesap, Jennetting, Seek-no-further, Tulpahockin, American Pippin, Red Cheek Pippin, Rhode Island Greening, Virginia Greening, Little Romanite, Spitzenberg, Swaar, Waxen, and a spurious Yellow Newtown Pippin since called Green Newtown Pippin—a worthless variety which has since caused much trouble to nurserymen, orchardists, and fruit buyers, and brought by mistake for the genuine—and other varieties not now remembered.

Of pears, the Fall Butter, Pound Pear, Winter Nellis, Seckle, Bartlett, and others.

Of cherries, May Duke, Governor Wood, Oxheart, Blackheart, Black Tartarian, Kentish, and others.

Peaches, the Crawford, Hale's Early, Indian Peach, Golden Cling, and seedlings.

Of plums, the Gages, Jefferson, Washington, Columbia, Peach Plum, Reine Claude and Coe's Late Red were leading varieties.

Of prunes there was only one variety, our little German prune, a native of the Rhine, sometimes called the Rhine Prune, and from which our Italian is a lineal descendant—a sport from its native country.

The grapes were the Catawba and Isabella.

The climate was propitious, and the soil fertile, and there were no insect pests. Trees grew rapidly and they were prolific of such fruit as had never been seen before.

About 1850, a Mr. Ladd started a nursery near Butteville, and in the same year Mr. George Settlemer arrived by way of California with a good supply of fruit-tree seed, which he planted on Green Point, and afterwards removed to his present home at Mt. Angel, where, as fast as his limited means would allow, a large stock of fruit and ornamental trees were accumulated, making in all the largest variety in the Territory. Mr. Settlemer wisely interested his large family of sons in the business by giving them little blocks of ground for side nurseries of their own. J. H. Settlemer tells, with pride, how he started, at ten years of age, in three fence corners, and at thirteen had one thousand trees and sold one bill of \$60.

Another nursery was started near Salem and the pioneer fruit industry was fairly inaugurated. This year Mr. Luelling went back East and selected from the extensive nurseries of Ellwanger and Barry, and A. J. Downing, a large variety of young trees and plants, which he brought back via the Isthmus of Panama, carried across by Indians and mules. This time Mr. Luelling, to correct his mistake in the Yellow Newtown Pippin, had Mr. Downing personally point out the trees as they were dug. Strangely the same mistake occurred again, and again Luelling brought out the Green Newtown Pippin, and it was not

for some years that the real Yellow Newtown Pippin was introduced into Oregon. The first box of apples placed upon the sidewalk in Portland, by Mr. Luelling, was eagerly purchased by the admiring fruit hungry crowd that gathered about at one dollar per apple, and returned the neat little profit of \$75.

The home market now showed many of the above mentioned fruits, which were eagerly sought at fabulous prices. Apples brought as high as one dollar per pound by the box, and in Portland retailed at one dollar and fifty cents per pound readily, and all other fruits nearly as much.

Californians, fruit hungry, with plethoric purses, bid high for the surplus, and in 1853, a few boxes, securely bound with strap iron (as was the custom in those days for protection against fruit thieves), were shipped to San Francisco and sold for two dollars per pound.

In 1854 five hundred bushels of apples were shipped and returned a net profit of from one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars per pound. In 1855 six thousand bushels were shipped and returned \$20 to \$30 per bushel. Young trees were now in full bearing and the export of 1856 was twenty thousand boxes. This year one box of Esopus Spitzenberg paid the shipper a net profit of \$60, and three boxes of Winesap were sold in Portland at \$102. From this time to 1869 the fall and winter shipments bimonthly to San Francisco, per steamer, was from three thousand to six thousand boxes.

In those days the foundation for many a princely fortune was laid, and to-day many of our fellow citizens are enjoying the merited reward of their enterprise in a luxurious competence and the "glorious privilege of being independent." But California with her proverbial enterprise, took in the situation and imported across the Isthmus of Panama thousands of young trees and root grafts, which multiplied into millions, and orchards, which had

been set out all over the fertile valleys and hillsides, were now coming into bearing; thus her local market was supplied because she was an exporter.

The business decreased from 1860 until 1870. Only a few boxes per steamer of the late winter varieties were sent. These were the Yellow Newtown Pippin, Winesap, Red Cheek Pippin, Genet, and Red Romanite, which, grown in our cooler climate, kept until the California varieties were gone. This marks the decadence of the fruit industry in Oregon. California sent us apples, pears, cherries, plums, prunes, apricots, grapes, and berries a month or two earlier than we could produce them; and with them came many of the insect pests which she had imported from Australia and the Eastern States, which hitherto had been unknown to us. In our isolation we had no outlet by rail or water for our surplus products. Transportation, such as we had, was enormously expensive. We could not even ship dried fruits. Our elegant orchards were neglected and the fruit allowed to fall to the ground and decay, thus furnishing breeding grounds for the green and woolly "aphis" and the "codlin moth."

To recapitulate: the establishment of orchards in California; the fall of prices to something like a normal standard; over-production, perhaps, on our part—at any rate the lack of demand at remunerative prices for the fruits peculiar to this section—led to carelessness on the part of growers, neglect of the most ordinary precautions, inattention and wastefulness, which resulted not only in spontaneous breeding of insect pests, but also to such conditions of ground and trees that made them favorable to the immeasurably rapid propagation of them, when the establishment of communication with infected points made their introduction not only possible but certain. The natural result of this much-to-be-deplored condition of affairs is too well known to need elaboration. In this

respect we were confronted with a condition, not a theory; and while leaving this condition an open subject for further reference before concluding, I pass on to a new era — premising that the establishment of one, two, and three transcontinental railways, the rapidly growing population of the Northwest extending back to the valley of the Mississippi, the limited fruit area for the few hardy varieties, present conditions to which we must now adjust ourselves.

The Department of the Interior, recognizing the fact that the vast “waste places” of the great Northwest, destined to be the homes of thousands upon thousands of hardy and adventurous home-builders, would be found unsuitable for the propagation of our fruits, ordered the importation of apples and other fruits acclimated to the regions of Russia and Siberia and arranged for the establishment of experiment stations to plant and test these trees in the cold, desolate regions north of us. Prof. J. L. Budd, of the Iowa Agricultural College, and Mr. Charles Gibb traveled through Russia and made a very full collection, consisting of hundreds of varieties of wild and cultivated fruits. These were distributed widely over the Northwest and were also tested by Professor Budd on the college grounds. All experiments, practically, have proven failures. To give some idea of the result of these experiments, and the present status of “orcharding” in the West and Northwest, I quote from an article in the November *American Garden*, from the pen of Prof. J. L. Budd:

The summers and winters during the past six years have been the most trying known to the history of the West on orchard fruits. So far as I know, the wreck of western orchards had known no parallel in the world's history. On the college grounds, the old orchard of 1,200 trees, planted prior to our experimental work with Russian fruits, was totally wrecked, and is now a clover field. Of the 118 varieties, the hardiest of the old list, the Duchess, Whitney's No. 20, and Tetofsky were the only really sound trees left when the orchard was grubbed out. In like manner our pear, European plum, and

cherry, of the old list have been destroyed and the stubs dug out. Over a large part of the State east of the Missouri divide, this orchard wrecking has been as complete as with us.

In those snowy and ice-bound regions before referred to will in a few years be found vast aggregations of people. Let the experiments of planting acclimated fruits be ever so successful, all that can be grown either for ornament of their bleak homes, or for the supply of the local markets will be but a fraction, and an insignificant one at that, of the amount required.

But to follow up the line of thought from the virtual blight and vital paralysis of this industry in our own borders, to illustrate the spirit of the times, California now leading off, had gathered enormous crops from her immensely large orchards. The problems of rapid transit, safe packing for long distances, transportation and reasonable freight rates, had not received the attention they deserved from orchardists and railroad men. Things were in a chaotic state. The facilities for canning were entirely inadequate. The fruit could not be handled, and thousands of tons were left to rot, or taken to an unremunerative market, and dumped into San Francisco Bay. There was a flurry among fruit growers; outspoken, indeed clamorous expressions of alarm were heard on all sides. The timid prophesied wreck, ruin, and disaster. Newly planted orchards were given over to neglect; large tracts set aside for tree planting were left to native pasturage, or sown to wheat, oats, clover or grass. A vast, important, and promising industry was in great jeopardy. The press of the Golden State, the common carriers, the far-sighted men who saw what the possibilities were in this direction, came to the rescue with well-considered presentations of the true facts in the premises. They discussed the subject at issue in the light of well-established and fully-recognized business principles.

The geographical position of the country, its peculiar climatic surroundings, its adaptability to the production of certain fruits, and the lack of similar climatic conditions in vast areas certain to be the homes of vast populations, were pointed out and dwelt upon, and the certainty that these vast populations in the nature of things, would require immense supplies of our fruits, green, dried, canned, and preserved, was made apparent. This view of the case struck the country press forcibly. It was restated, reiterated, and continuously kept before the people with results, which, in their magnitude and importance, can only be hinted at in this article. But, much that was said, and all there was to say, applied as well to Oregon, and our practical thinking men took up the subject. The scare was over—the spirit was contagious. Old orchards were trimmed and cultivated and new ones set. All the fruits of the temperate zone, so far as tried, had done well in Oregon. Our Italian prunes, Bartlett pears, and Royal Ann and Black Republican cherries paid best, and were attracting favorable attention abroad. The last few years trees of these varieties had been set out by hundreds of thousands all over the State, but mostly through the Willamette Valley. The trees when properly cared for make a vigorous, healthy growth; and five years from the setting make pecuniary returns.

As these to-day are our leading varieties and of considerable importance and great promise in the future commercially, they seem to deserve some historical record. The prune, as before stated was introduced in 1847 by Henderson Luelling of Iowa. Our little German prune—Luelling prune—is the true German prune, a native of the Rhine, propagated from the seed, and cultivated more extensively in Germany and over the continent of Europe than any other fruit, and is the “butter” and the condi-

ment of the peasantry and a principal source of revenue. The prune has always done well with us.

In 1857 Mr. Henry Miller, of the firm of Miller & Lambert, of Milwaukie, who had purchased the orchard of Luelling & Meek, sent to Ellwanger & Barry, of Rochester, N. Y., for the best drying prunes; and in answer received scions of the Italian (Fallenburg), and a little oblong purple prune called the d'Agen, but not the prune grown now as Petite d'Agen or French prune. These scions were worked on bearing plum trees, and soon bore heavy crops. The d'Agen, though a sweet, palatable prune, when green proved to be a poor shipper and watery and unsuitable for drying; so after being pretty extensively tested over the State, was abandoned. The Italian was a large palatable fruit, a good shipper, and yielded thirty-three per cent when dried; making a showy black prune—excellent as a “confection” to eat out of hand; requiring little sugar and of the finest flavor when cooked. The tree is free from all pests, stocky and vigorous; is a regular bearer, carrying its fruits well distributed, and requiring no thinning; remarkable in the respect that it sheds all fruit it can not perfect to a good large size according to the dryness of the season. The tree responds to good treatment but does tolerably in the grass plot and under neglect, and has been called “the poor shiftless man’s tree.”

About the year 1858 Mr. Seth Lewelling, a brother of Henderson Luelling, set the first Italian prune orchard, five acres, near Milwaukie. Others, noting the elegance of the fruit, in quality, size, and flavor, and its fine shipping and drying qualities, began setting trees in different localities over the State for home use, and as an experiment to test locality, and as a basis for business calculation. About 1870 there was much talk and speculation about prunes and prune growing as a business, for and against, those favoring showing facts and figures, those against

claiming that our prunes were not the true German and Italian prunes, and that the prune in this country would, as they had in Eastern States, degenerate into a worthless, watery plum not fit for drying, and, at any rate, that the curculio would soon come and destroy them. Solid business men considered the prune business a visionary scheme, not worthy a serious consideration.

To verify our plums and prunes, in 1872, I ordered from August Bauman, of Bolwiler on the Rhine, one of the largest and most reliable nurserymen in Germany, scions of fourteen varieties of plums and prunes. These came by express at a cost of \$11 per package. After five orders and five packages in various shapes had been received in worthless condition, the sixth package enveloped in oil silk and hermetically sealed in a tin can, came in good order. These were grafted on bearing trees, and the third year bore fruit. The Italian prune, German prune, the Petite d'Agen, Coe's Golden Drop, and all other varieties—just such fruit as we had been growing for these varieties—thus settling the matter of varieties beyond dispute. Whereupon, from 1871 to 1881, I set eighty acres to orchard near Portland; six thousand prunes and plums, one thousand Royal Ann and Black Republican cherries, fifteen hundred Bartlett pears, five hundred Winter Nellis, and other pears and winter apples.

This, I am told, was the first commercial prune orchard on the coast. In 1876 I built a three-ton box drier, dried several tons of pitted peach-plums, sold at sixteen cents per pound in fifty-pound boxes. The first yield of prunes dried in 1876 brought twelve cents and for some years did not drop below nine cents.

It was in August, 1853, in the then little village of Portland, we met our first surprise in the fruit product of Oregon. A small basket of peach-plums had attracted a crowd of fruit-hungry admirers. They were handed out,

five for a quarter, the smallest change offered or accepted in pioneer days.

To-day you can not understand the sensation of this occasion, or how, later, the first boxes of Italian prunes on a country wagon collected a crowd of merchants, clerks, and street people to the marketing, and how voraciously they were eaten out of hand on the spot. The price, though extravagant, was not considered. You can not understand, for you were never young a thousand miles away from home, in a new country, isolated, without transportation, and without fruit. The peach-plums referred to were highly colored, large, and beautiful, as we know them in Oregon, but then they looked much larger and more beautiful, the aroma was most appetizing, and the melting, juicy pulp of the ripened fruit was enjoyed with a keen gustatory satisfaction.

In our distant home in the West, then as far out as Illinois, we only knew the little wild red plum, stung by the curculio, and wormy. We boys ate them at the risk of the worms, which we no doubt often ate with the plum. The cultivated domestic plum had not been introduced; we had never seen it, scarcely heard of it, hence the surprise.

Citizen P. W. Gillette was then a nurseryman, near Astoria, and had imported from his father's nursery in Ohio a fine stock of fruits and ornamentals. It was in 1855 I made my first considerable order, and I have been ordering and setting trees ever since, as I have been told I "had the tree-setting craze, and had it bad." In the sober reflections of the present I must acknowledge it was true. I had to set trees. For many years I cleared our heavy timber land, and set out ten acres a year. Moderately speaking, I have set over two hundred acres in trees—not a large orchard now. The time had not come for the large commercial orchards of to-day.

I was not alone ; the mania was infectious ; seemingly nearly everybody was setting fruit trees and plums ; the front yards and the back yards of the towns had them. Shrewd business men set orchards to plums—Meek & Luelling, George Walling, Seth Lewelling, and others ; later, P. F. Bradford, Dr. O. P. S. Plummer, S. A. Clarke, Dr. N. G. Blalock, and a multitude of others too numerous to mention.

It was not until 1871 I put out twelve hundred peach-plum trees. There was then a great demand for large-pitted plums in the eastern market, and our grocerymen called for them in considerable quantities at home, and often said to me, "Set out pitting plums and peach-plums, and don't set anything you can not pit, for the American people don't want a prune with the pit in it. They don't like them. A few of our large-pitted plums had reached the Saint Louis market, and were selling readily at thirty-five cents per pound. We figured two hundred pounds to the tree, then thought to be a conservative estimate, one hundred and sixty trees to the acre, and forty acres in plums, at fifteen cents a pound, dried. This was good, better than a quartz mine ; divided by two it seemed good enough. Time passed. Market reports East showed active demand for pitted plums. Leading wholesale grocers ordered, and said we need not fear an oversupply of plums as per sample sent, and that there was nothing so fine on the market. We sold at sixteen cents per pound, and were assured that they could not drop much below that price.

A correspondent, a grower, Mr. S. J. Brandon, of New York, had discovered, or thought he had, that a heavy clay soil, very like our hilled lands, was unfavorable to the curculio, the blighting pest of the East that had discouraged plum and prune growing in the States east of the Rockies. Mr. Brandon, however, was growing successfully a forty-acre orchard of Reine Claude plums on heavy clay

land in New York State, and was reaping a golden harvest from the green products in New York City market.

Another correspondent, Prof. C. V. Riley, then State Entomologist of Missouri, afterwards Government Entomologist at Washington, had written me that the curculio did her work at night, and only when the thermometer was above 75° F.; lower, she was chilled and could not work. This enthused us. As our nights are uniformly below that temperature, I concluded, and yet think correctly, we should not be troubled with that pest, the one pest that had discouraged the growing of plums and prunes in the East. We have no doubt often had the curculio imported from the East in soil about plants, but up to date I have not seen or heard of a curculio on the Pacific Coast.

I set one thousand Italian prunes, and—with the idea of filling in the drying season from the early peach-plum to the Italian prune—successively for some years I set out the following varieties: Five hundred late peach-plums, five hundred Washington, five hundred Jefferson, five hundred Columbia, five hundred Pond's, five hundred Reine Claude, fifteen hundred French prunes, twelve hundred Coe's Golden Drop; cultivated—plowed twice, hoed around trees twice, harrowed four times, and finished with clod-crusher and leveler, made of six-inch fir poles, five pieces six feet long, spaced six inches apart, 2x4 scantling spiked to ends, which has to this time proven the best implement for this purpose, and seems to me almost indispensable as a finishing tool in cultivating our clay hill soil.

The winter of 1878 was cold, the thermometer falling to zero, with stormy northeast winds for weeks, ending with a heavy snowstorm. The cambium wood froze and turned dark, almost black, the bark burst loose almost entirely on many trees, particularly the peach-plums. Over in Clark County, Washington, and about Portland we thought our trees were killed; yet, in the spring, to our surprise, they

nearly all grew and seemed not injured, excepting on the southwest the bark of the peach-plum died, as judged, on account of the warm 2 o'clock sun while the trees were yet frozen. In a few years the damage was scarcely noticed.

The first year of bearing I sent two carloads of peach-plums, wrapped in papers and carefully packed in twenty-pound boxes, to the Chicago market. The weather was warm in transit, they were delayed, and arrived in bad condition, and were sold for about the freight bill, commission, and other charges. I made other ventures of this kind and learned in the dear school of experience that the peach-plum did not carry well, and could not be profitably shipped so far east. Our commission merchants tried many such experiments, and I do not know that any one ever made anything shipping peach-plums East, and I do know there were many losses, and the business was abandoned.

Early in the seventies I built the Acme fruit evaporator, bought a Lily pitter, which pitted three thousand five hundred pounds in ten hours, and, after the failure of my shipping scheme, dried the entire product of my orchard. For some years, starting at sixteen cents per pound, the business paid nicely, then prices dropped to fourteen, twelve, ten, and down, until 1890 they were a drug in the market at six cents, unsalable, and were held over, some for three years, and were then reprocessed and sold at a loss. The fashion had changed, the fad was off, people were tired of pitted plums, the trade turned to prunes, the call now was for prunes with the pit in, as it was claimed to give the true prune taste, which the pit alone could do. This was disastrous. What should I do with my plum orchard? Here was a condition serious. I was theorizing: "Was it possible to graft new heads on these trees successfully?" This was questioned; orchardists shook their heads and thought it too big an undertaking. Some ad-

vised digging up the trees to set prunes. I was selling prunes at twelve and one half cents per pound in fifty-pound boxes, faced. Our Italian prunes led the market, and were readily salable at that figure. This was paying fairly well; a legitimate business, so to speak. We were then possessed of the idea that we had a little neck of the woods in western Oregon and Washington—the only spot in this great continent that could grow successfully the Italian prune. We were led to think this as they had failed in California, the East, and other localities, and, presumably, they required a heavy clay soil, and a cool, damp climate, and we didn't know of any other such country, and we were growing them successfully, and we had the verdict of the markets and all comers to that effect.

In 1871 I secured an experienced top-grafter, started in April and grafted twelve hundred twenty-year-old peach-plums into the Italian prune, putting ten to thirty grafts in a tree. It looked destructive. Orchardists looked wise and said it was an experiment; some thought it would not succeed. I had tried a few trees the year before with my own hands, and was hopeful. It did succeed. Fully ninety-five per cent of the grafts grew; enough so that no further grafting was necessary, while some trimming out was necessary. I did not lose a tree—this at a cost of ten cents a tree. I trimmed back the new wood annually, and in three years had a good bearing top, which thereafter bore the largest, finest prunes grown in the vicinity. These I wrapped, packed in twenty-pound boxes, and shipped East. They carried well and gave very satisfactory returns. I shipped seven cars one season. They averaged me \$1.25 per box in the eastern market, leaving a nice profit. Continuously every year after this gratifying result I thus worked over about one thousand trees, until forty-four hundred plum trees were all worked over into Italian prunes, with like success and with a loss not exceeding

fifty trees. It was said and believed by many that the union would not be good at the graft, and trees thus treated would break down under a heavy load of fruit or from our occasional heavy sleets. This has not proven true—only a suspicious foreboding. Under a heavy weight of fruit and in two heavy sleets the union of the graft, to the contrary, has proven to be as strong as any part of the tree, and it has transpired that this top-grafting is not so difficult and mysterious a handicraft as is generally supposed. Any careful, painstaking man can, in a few hours, learn to set a graft; and so with the waxing, etc. A sharp grafting knife, a trimming saw, a package of cotton batting, a waxing brush, and a heating appliance with kettle of grafting wax, is all the equipment required. For wax, linseed oil and resin, heated and mixed to a right consistence (which is a matter of a little common sense experience). A man who could not learn to top-graft in a day or two of experience I should not consider an orchardist or fit to work in an orchard.

My grafting has been done in March, April, and May, sometimes even after trees were in bloom and leaf. Scions cut in January or February, tied in bunches and set (cut ends down) in loose earth on the north side of a building, under shed, have always kept well.

Now it transpires that eastern Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, British Columbia, and other localities, grow successfully the Italian prune, and could probably supply the market of the United States. California set great areas of French prunes, and overdid the business, as Californians are apt to do. Probably California, in the near future, will produce more prunes than the world now consumes. For these and other reasons prunes annually dropped in prices from twelve and one half to four cents, and five and one half cents, the present offering. This year the four sizes of French prunes are held at two and

one half cents base, and slow movement. California is in the hands of a combine, even at these prices, and the eastern market proposes to hold off and break the combine and get prunes yet lower. The few prunes that are sold now are sold outside the combine at lower figures. Canned goods and green fruits are taking the place of the prune. It remains to be seen whether the combine will hold or break. To hold possibly means that the opportunity to sell will be lost and stock held over. To say the least, the condition is not encouraging. The trade calls for a large black prune. The French prune grown in Oregon is small and light colored and can not compete with the larger dark French prune grown in the Santa Clara Valley, not to speak of their advantage in sun-drying. I have one thousand five hundred twelve-year-old French prune trees yet to work over; am growing wood of the Burbank sugar prune for scions. California is setting and top-grafting into this prune extensively. Everything is claimed for it. "Three weeks earlier than the French, much larger, sweeter, drying forty-five pounds to the hundred; ever bearing enormously; tree vigorous; free from blight or disease of any kind," etc.

In 1872 set three hundred Royal Ann cherries, three hundred Black Republican, and later, four hundred Bing, seventy-five Lambert, sixty Governor Wood, fifty May Duke, and one hundred Early Richmond; for some years the Royal Ann and Black Republican brought from fifty cents to seventy cents per pound, in ten-pound boxes for shipment East. This was fairly remunerative, but of late, on account of fungi, the Royal Ann has not carried well in the long haul; is easily bruised, turns black on the facing, and altogether is an unattractive and unsalable fruit in the eastern markets. We have discontinued shipment. Canneries have come to the rescue and now contract our fruit at three and one half to four cents loose, boxes returned.

This, also, will be fairly remunerative. Large dark cherries ship well, sell well, and probably will remain profitable. The world's fairs of 1893 and since revealed the fact that we grow the largest, showiest, and perhaps the finest cherry in the world. Somehow, we ought to do well with our dark cherries. Sixty Governor Wood and fifty May Dukes, after ten years' experience, were worked over into Royal Anns, with the same success in the grafting as with the plum. To-day only an expert would notice the graft or any change in the growth.

The object of this grafting story is to say, "Don't dig up old trees because the fruit does not suit you, graft into sorts that will suit you." Spraying, enriching, and deep cultivation will rejuvenate old trees and bring them into vigorous bearing long before you could realize from setting young trees, and at much less expense.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT VALENTINE SHORT.

I was born on the 31st day of March, 1823, in a log cabin on a farm near the village of Fairview, Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, about thirteen miles west of Pittsburg. In the fall of that year my parents emigrated to Richland County, Ohio, settling on a frontier farm two and one half miles from Mansfield, the county seat. Here my mother died when I was about two years of age. My father then sold out and moved to another farm near Ashland, where we remained until I was about six years old.

I was then sent back to my birthplace to live with an uncle and aunt, brother and sister of my father, who had remained in their childhood home and cared for their aged parents. Here I remained until my sixteenth year, attending district school three months each summer and three months each winter, and also enjoying the superior advantage of several terms in a private school. In this private school I studied "Gummer's System of Surveying."

On July 4, 1835 (or 1836) I was allowed to "celebrate" by a trip to the city of Pittsburg, and here saw the little steamboat, Elizabeth, the first boat that ever navigated the Alleghany River, making her first trip up the river.

In 1839, when in my sixteenth year I left my uncle's place and went back to my father's home. Not finding that congenial, in the spring of 1840 I contracted with one Anderson Deem, a tailor in Ashland, Ohio, to serve an apprenticeship of two years and three months at the tailor's trade. After serving out my time, on the 2d day of November, 1842, with \$7.50 in my pocket, I started out as a journeyman tailor. Struck a job the first day in Gallion, Ohio, working seven days. From there went to Del-

aware, Ohio, at which place I worked and attended two terms at the Wesleyan University. In the fall of 1843 I taught a three months' school about ten miles from Delaware, in Radnar township, on the Scioto River. During the early spring of 1844 I taught another three months' school near Delaware.

In March, 1844, I started on a visit to my boyhood home in Pennsylvania, stopping at Alexandria, Ohio, where I cast my first vote on Monday, April 1,—the day before being my twenty-first birthday. Returning to Delaware in July, I worked at the tailor's trade until the spring of 1845, also studying surveying under Davis' system.

On June 30, 1845, I started for Illinois, driving a two-horse wagon across the country, arriving at Maquon, Knox County, July 13. Here I worked in the harvest fields during the summer and in September went to Knoxville, forming a partnership in the tailoring business with one William James, and remaining all winter. In May, 1846, went as delegate to the Democratic district convention at Rock Island, also visiting Fort Armstrong, then an important military post. I went then to my brother's place at Dresden, at the foot of Joliet Lake, working during the summer on the farm and in the sawmill. While here I was troubled greatly with the common complaint of that locality, chills and fever, and one day while lying under a tree, unable to work, I made up my mind that I would go to Oregon. I worked at tailoring in Joliet, Illinois, during the following winter, reviewing my studies of surveying at night by candle light, often studying till 12 or 1 o'clock.

On February 17, 1847, I started overland once more across Indiana for a farewell visit to my father in Ohio and my boyhood home in Pennsylvania. April 3, 1847, I took passage on the steamer Planet for Cincinnati.

From Cincinnati by boat to St. Joseph, where I met Joseph C. Geer, for whom I had agreed to drive an ox-team across the plains that summer. On May 7, 1847, we crossed the Missouri River and then made up our emigrant train, Gen. Joel Palmer being chosen captain. On November 7, 1847, I arrived in Oregon City, being just six months in making the trip. I immediately opened a tailor shop in Oregon City, and in the mean time, with two others, Albion Post and Heman Geer, late of Cove, Oregon, and father of T. T. Geer, built a shop, Post being a harness-maker and Geer a shoemaker.

On the 19th day of February, 1848, I married Mary Geer, a sister of Heman Geer. On March 2, 1849, I started for the California gold mines, meeting Joseph Lane, appointed governor for Oregon Territory, with others in a chinook canoe on Clackamas rapids. Went on board a sailing vessel in the mouth of the Willamette River, and landed in San Francisco March 14. Thence by rowboat to Sacramento City which had then but one wooden building in it. On March 29, 1849, paid \$200 for an Indian pony and started for the gold fields. Reached Spanish Bar April 4 and mined there until the 8th of July, at which time I left for home. Arrived at San Francisco July 13, remaining there eight days. Helped to organize the first vigilance committee on the Pacific Coast, electing old Mr. Priest captain.

Returned to Oregon, arriving at Astoria August 7 on the brig Mary Ellen, being out fifteen days. In July, 1850, I surveyed the town of Portland and made the first plat of the same that was put on record, and from which two copies were made by Brady of San Francisco, known as the Brady maps. Bought a lot 50 x 100 on the southwest corner of Third and Washington streets, where the Dekum building now stands, and built a one-story frame house with brick chimney, and moved down from Oregon

City. Bought an interest in the first steam sawmill that was built on the Pacific Coast, which was built by Stephen Coffin and W. P. Abrams.

In 1851 moved on to a donation land claim in Yamhill County. Later was appointed captain of militia and organized a company in Chehalem Valley, to assist in the Indian wars. In 1855 was elected the first county surveyor of Yamhill County, and also justice of the peace.

In 1857 was elected a member of the constitutional convention. The legislature of 1859 detached a portion of Yamhill County and annexed the same to Clackamas County, leaving my residence in the latter county. In 1862 I was elected assessor of Clackamas County for the term of two years, and in 1888 I was elected to the legislature from the same county.

In 1891, having sold the farm, I purchased a suburban residence in Portland and retired from active life.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OREGON PIONEER OF 1843.

By SAMUEL PENTER.

I wish to state concerning some of the past. In 1813 my father was drafted to fight the English. In 1814 I was born on Reeds Creek in Blount County, East Tennessee. I knew but little of Tennessee. In 1820 we moved to Arkansas. Now, concerning the trip: my father, grandfather, R. Bates, and William Tate bought a keel boat at Henry's Mill on Little River in which we shipped for Arkansas. Very little was known about the navigation by any of the company. We started from Henry's Mill on Little River in the spring; we voyaged down Little River to Tennessee River. There we stopped at the Mussel shoals.¹ My father made a fine canoe; it was stolen that night from the boat. We voyaged down Tennessee River to Ohio River and to Mississippi River and stopped at Memphis at the mouth of the Wolf River. We stayed there three weeks while my father and uncle went across to see the country. In the mean time a negro caught a large catfish. He tried to sell it but its belly was so large everybody was afraid it had swallowed an infant. The negro said, "You not buy; I eat him myself." He opened the fish and found, tied in a handkerchief, three hundred dollars. The negro was in luck, don't you think?

Well, the men returned well pleased with the country. Then we loosed from Wolf River to navigate down to the mouth of White River at Montgomery Point. Now comes

¹ Now given on maps as "Muscle Shoals" which strongly suggests corruption from what was probably the right name given by Mr. Penter.—ED.

the hardest of it. Up White River four hundred miles to Laffer Creek, and took a place in White River bottom which was covered with native cane and much good timber of various kinds. It was hard clearing. When we got settled my father and uncle, Sam Hess, went hunting in the mountains. They came back with three horses loaded with buffalo meat—the last buffalo found in that country.

Arkansas was just settling when we got there. Game was very plenty and also fish in abundance. The first two years we secured wild meat in plenty—bear and deer and wild turkeys. My father was a good hunter and killed bear enough to fill the smokehouse. I was too young to know or do much. If it had not been for the game, we would have been hard pressed to have a good living. After two years we had enough cleared so that we were almost independent. We raised cotton to pay the store bills; cotton was our best crop to make money. When I was twenty-one I enlisted in the army in the time of the Seminole war. We had no trouble with the Indians.

In 1836 I was married to M. C. Keizur. In the fall of 1842 I moved to Missouri to get ready to emigrate to Oregon. Wintered in Bates County, went early in the spring to Fisher's Mill. There we laid in our supplies for the trip. We started the 20th of May.

I started with two horses and a small wagon and one cow that gave us milk all the way. We got along wonderfully well, till we came to Kaw River, where we came up with the company ahead of us. They made two large dugouts of which they made a ferryboat to cross wagons. My father-in-law had a fine horse he hired an Indian to swim across the river. He failed to get him in the water. I proposed to get a man on each side and one behind, but the Indian was afraid. "Take the Indian off and I will swim the horse over the river." I got on him. "Now

get a man on each side and one behind him with poles and force him in the water!" And in he went. When he struck the water I washed off, but held on to the bridle. They said from the shore "Don't pull the bridle!" I knew just what to do and the horse went over all right. The Indian said "White man cumtux!"

When we were across the river the company that made the boat had organized, and decided that no one man should have more than ten head of cattle. There were some of the company that had thirty or forty cattle, so we formed another company with Jesse Applegate for captain. We moved on finely until we got across Little and Big Blues. We had just got over the two streams and camped when a rain storm came up and blew down all the tents, and ran one wagon twenty feet. The next morning Big Blue River was over its banks. We learned that John Ford was behind with his wife and baby with Daniel Waldo. Bennett O'Neil, William H. Wilson, and myself were sent back to meet them. We made a raft and got across Big Blue. When we got to Little Blue we found it was over its banks and Waldo was on the other side. We had to swim to get over. The river was down next day, and Waldos camped, but John Ford, his wife and baby, crossed the river in a bark canoe that John Ford had made. When we got back to Big Blue our raft was water soaked; it would only hold up one. They gave me the raft and they swam over. O'Neil was nearly drowned but we all got safe to camp and resumed our march. While we lay by one day to rest and wash, I went hunting and I killed an antelope. While getting it ready to put on the horse I heard a noise on the hill above me; I thought "Indian," but I got my game fixed for carrying, skinned each side in the middle and broke the back and laid it on the saddle, then made tracks for camp. I

dressed and roasted one shoulder and invited Doctor² to help eat it. The Doctor said it was the best roasted meat he ever ate.

When we got to Fort Laramie,³ Platte River had to be ferried. We got some boats, tied them together and got all the barrels we could and lashed by the sides of the boats to help hold them up. We crossed one wagon at a time till all were over. At the next river, North Platte, we tied all the wagons together. Some one had a long rope which was tied to the ring of the first wagon and men on the other side helped the train to cross. We made a good crossing except that McHaley's wagon broke loose and washed off. At Laramie³ I got a pair of moccasins for a pint bottle from an Indian woman, a white man's wife.

We traveled up Sweet Water till we got to Independence Rock; the train stopped there. Hiram Straight, Bob Smith, and myself went hunting and were out all night. In the morning we killed a fine fat buffalo cow, and started to get ahead of the wagons. We got on top of the Black Hills where we could see the wagons; we then unpacked our horses and let them graze, while we roasted buffalo meat and ate without bread or salt, then went on to meet the train. So that ends the hunt for that time.

We headed Sweet Water and camped at a lake on the divide. There James White struck his wife. Bob Smith wanted to whip him, but Olinger thought he served her right for abusing his little girls. I will have to go back to the other side of Platte where three of us went hunting, Hiram Straight, Jo Hess, and myself. We killed a fine buffalo. I was riding Patterson's young skittish horse by

² Mr. Penter fails to give the name of the "doctor." As Dr. Marcus Whitman is always mentioned in connection with any medical service performed during this migration he is probably the person referred to.—ED.

³ The flight of years has evidently confused the author slightly on minor points of the geography of the incidents of the trip, but this does not impair the value of his account.—ED.

his request; nobody could manage him. I got one load on, and in getting on another I made a blunder, the horse jumped and broke the girth. He was held with the end of a long rope. He kept jumping till he got loose, then went off with rope and bridle for good and always. Hess carried my saddle to camp, so I was out nothing but rope and bridle. The next day I wanted to go back with the boys to look for him but the company would not agree. I was a good hand in the water. We always thought if I had gone I would have got the horse. He was a noble horse. While I was helping get the goods over the river, the wagons crossed and lost my rifle, but I had another left.

We went from the lake on the summit to Sandy; there we had an increase of an infant by Mrs. Hembree. From there to Green River. Green River was deep fording. We propped up the wagon boxes and got over dry. Not much occurred from there to Fort Hall. There we found the wagons of the emigrants of 1842. Mr. Keizur got a wagon Vardmand Bennett had left. I left my horse-wagon, put my goods in Ben Young's old wagon, and drove his ox team to the dalles. Applegate got a boat to carry their goods down through the dalles with McClenden to steer the boat. He got scared, made for shore, capsized the boat and three were drowned, McClenden and two Applegate boys. Bill Wilson saved one boy, got him on the boat oars and swam to shore. Corny Stringer was in a canoe, got scared, jumped out and drowned. That made four drowned at the dalles. The Methodists had a mission at the dalles, and were very clever to the emigrants. I stopped with them a while and they gave me work. I was very near destitute. John Ford and I got a boat and went down the Columbia River to Vancouver. Dave Weston met us with a boat and helped us to Oregon City. We all got together below the city. Nimrod Ford saw two deer

as he came up with the cattle close to camp. We got our guns. I had an old flint lock gun and put in new powder. I espied the deer, and shot one down in his tracks; nothing ever came in better play. I got a little work for a few days, then Joseph Hess and I got a large Indian canoe and with our families went up the Willamette to the mouth of Yamhill River and got claims in Chehalem Valley.

ROUTE
ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS
WITH A
Description of Oregon and California¹
THEIR
GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES, THEIR RESOURCES, SOIL,
CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, ETC., ETC.

By OVERTON JOHNSON AND WM. H. WINTER,
of the Emigration of 1843.

LAFAYETTE, IND.
JOHN B. SEMANS : PRINTER
1846

¹THE QUARTERLY begins here the reprint of a book on the emigration of 1843 and the conditions on the Pacific Coast as they were found by two members of that company of Oregon pioneers. Careful inquiry has thus far disclosed the existence of only two copies of this important source of Oregon history. The library of the University of California and the library of Congress have each a copy. The above is a reproduction of the main features of the title page.

PREFACE.

From the general interest manifested by the People of the United States, and particularly that portion residing in the great Valley of the Mississippi, in regard to the Territory of Oregon and the Province of California, we have been impressed with the belief, that any correct information concerning those countries, clad in ever so homely and unpretending a garb, would be received by them with favor. From this conviction, and indulging the hope that a long and tedious tour might thus be turned to public as well as individual advantage, we have concluded to give the following pages to the press.

There is, we suppose, no portion of North America, East of that great dividing chain—the Rocky Mountains—similar to that on the West. The general features of the country, the climate, the soil, vegetation, all are different. Nature appears to have created there, upon a grander scale. The mountains are vast; the rivers are majestic; the vegetation is of a giant kind; the climate, in the same latitude, is much milder. The soil, generally, is inferior to that of the Western States. Many of the valleys, in point of fertility, are, perhaps, unsurpassed; but to compare the whole country with an equal portion of the Western States, it is much inferior.

Only a small portion of those territories laid down on the maps as Oregon and California, are at all calculated for settlement: much the largest portions of both, are nothing more than barren wastes, which can yield little or nothing to the support of animal life. The valuable portion of Oregon lies between the Blue Mountains and the Coast; and the valuable portion of California, between the California Mountains and the Coast. The principal advantages that those countries possess over the Western States, are a mild and very healthy climate, and an excellent commercial situation.

Our description of those countries, we are aware, will differ, in many respects, from those which have been, and that probably will be given, by others, for, as men are constituted differently, with different faculties, with different tastes and inclinations; so they differ in their opinions in regard to things. It is impossible for all to view the same things with the same eye. The same situation, the same soil, the same climate, the same country, is not—can not be, adapted to the wishes and wants of all; therefore, though the thing described be the same, there will be a slight difference of coloring in the descriptions of different persons, which will to some extent convey different ideas to the mind of the same reader. Many of the accounts given of those countries are too flattering; and, again, on the contrary,

some make their disadvantages to appear greater than they really are. These different descriptions have not always been given to mislead; but are frequently the offspring of the differing judgment of those who have written. Some will probably form opinions from our statements, and some may be induced to visit or emigrate to those distant Western shores; and if such should be the case, they may be disappointed in their expectations and find countries widely differing from the pictures they had drawn. It is difficult to form a correct idea of a country from any description that can be given. Men are apt to expect too much—to draw their pictures too fair; they look to those wild and distant regions for something surpassing nature, and they are disappointed. The world contains now no Garden of Eden. There is no particular portion of the habitable globe that possesses advantages greatly superior to the rest. If one has a better climate, the other has a better soil; if one has a better commercial situation, the other has some counterbalancing advantage, sufficient to make them nearly or quite equal.

The route to California, the description of that country, and the return from it to Fort Hall, are from the notes of Wm. H. Winter.

JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

THE JOURNEY OUT, WITH ITS INCIDENTS.

Departure from Independence—Country of the Shawnee and Kansas Indians—Rainy Weather and muddy traveling—Antelopes and Prairie Dogs—Cold Rain Storm on the Platte—Buffalo region—Sand Hills—Pawnee and Sioux Indians—Forts on the Platte—Black Hills—Red Buttes—Killing a Grizzly Bear—Sulphur Springs—Summit of the Rocky Mountains.

In the latter part of May, 1843, we left Independence, a small town in the Western part of the State of Missouri, situated six miles south of the Missouri River and twelve miles from the Western line of the State, and now the principal starting point for all the companies engaged in the Western and New Mexican trade, and place of general rendezvous of persons from all parts of the United States, wishing to emigrate or travel beyond the Rocky Mountains. In a few hours we passed the Western boundary of the State, and came into the territory of the Shawnee Indians. They occupy a small, but very beautiful and fertile country, lying immediately West of the State line. The Shawnees have made considerable advancement towards civilization. Many of them have good farms and comfortable houses. Some of them are good mechanics, and most of them speak the English language tolerably well.

We were traveling here in the great Santa Fe trace, and again and again, we passed long trains of Merchant wagons, laden with the products of our Manufactories and other Merchandise, and bearing them afar across the deserts, to be exchanged for the gold and silver of the Provinces of Mexico. This trace is large, and as well beaten, as many of the most important public highways in the States.

After leaving the country of the Shawnees we came into that of the Kansas Indians. Theirs, also, is a very beautiful country; entirely in a state of nature. It differs but little from the Western part of Missouri, except that the surface is more undulating, and that it has less timber. Here we left the last traces of civilization, and seemed, for a time, to be beyond even the borders of animated existence. Not even the song of a bird broke upon the surrounding stillness; and, save the single track of the Emigrants, winding away over the hills, not a foot print broke the rich unvaried verdure of the broad forest-begirt prairies; and in the little islet groves that dotted the plain—the wooded strips that wound along with the course of the rivulet—and the blue wall that surrounded, not a trunk was scarred nor a twig was broken. It was a vast, beautiful and perfect picture, which nature herself had drawn, and the hand of man had never violated. No decoration of art, mingled to confuse or mar the perfection. All was natural, beautiful, unbroken. The transition had been sudden, as the change was great. Every thing was calculated to inspire the mind with feelings of no common kind. He, alone, who for the first time stands upon the deck of some tall ship, whose sails are spread before the breeze, and whose foaming prow looks steadily towards some distant clime, when for the first time he sees the loved shores of his native land sink into the wave, and the blue waters of the treacherous deep gather around him, may appreciate the sensations which awakened in our hearts when here we reflected upon where we were, and what we had undertaken: when the past; all that we had left behind us—nothing less than the whole civilized world, with all of its luxuries, comforts, and most of its real necessities—society, friends, home,—all that is in this world dear to man: when the future, dark and uncertain—presenting nothing but a vast extent of drear and desert

wastes, uninhabited save by the wild beast and savage—filled, perhaps, with thousands of unknown difficulties and dangers, hardships and privations,—rushed at once, in mingled confusion, upon the mind, and impressed upon our feelings a full sense of the loneliness of our situation and the rapidly increasing space that was separating us from all communion with the civilized world.

The morning had been fair, and we were moving slowly along through the middle of one of the wide prairies, without noticing the cloud which had been gathering in the North, until its thunders awoke us from our dreaming. The breeze, which before had scarcely stirred the grass upon the plain, grown into a gale, now soared over the hills. The rain soon followed, pouring in torrents. Our mules, wheeling with their heads from the storm, refused to proceed. We were therefore compelled quietly to endure it, and wait upon the pleasure of our long eared masters. Fortunately, it lasted for but little more than an hour; but this was sufficient for us to become completely drenched with the rain and chilled with the cold. But in a short time the cloud passed over, and the rays of the sun having dried our garments and tempered the atmosphere to its previous mildness, made every thing appear more cheerful than before.

This we regarded as a sort of introduction to the next six months. As the sun approached the horizon, we turned aside and halted, on the bank of a small creek, and made preparations to pass the night. We turned our animals loose to graze, having first fastened strong cords, about ten yards in length, about their necks, that we might not have difficulty in catching them. After they had run loose some time one end of the cord was fastened to a stake, to prevent their rambling away, through the night, and the rope was sufficiently long to give them room to feed plentifully. Having pitched our tent and

kindled a fire, supper was soon prepared, spread upon the ground, and we took our seats upon the grass around it. Three articles — bread, meat, and coffee — completed the variety of the board ; and although they were not prepared in the neatest and most tasteful manner, yet our appetites spoke abundant praises for the ability of the cook. Supper being finished, as the night grew dark, we retired one by one to rest, spreading our beds upon the ground. We slept to dream of all that we loved and had left behind us, and awoke to know that they were far from us and that our home was the wild uncultivated field of nature, “whose walls the hills and forests were, whose canopy the sky.” Having traveled up the Kansas River 90 miles, we came, on the 30th of May, to where the Emigrants were crossing. We saw here the first village of Kansas Indians. Their huts are made of poles and bark, and are about sixteen feet wide, by thirty long, and eight high. The ends are perpendicular, but the sides joining with the roof in a gradual curve, make the whole very nearly in the shape of the half of a circular cylinder. They were very filthy and almost entirely naked, not disposed to be hostile to the whites, but like most other Indians, they are expert and inveterate thieves. The River not being fordable, the Emigrants constructed two large canoes, which they fastened together at a sufficient distance apart, by a platform of round poles laid across and extending from one end to the other. Upon this they placed the wagons by hand, and ferried them across the stream. The cattle and horses were turned loose and made to swim to the opposite shore. We succeeded in getting across on the same day that we arrived, and after delaying one day and a half, endeavoring to make up a small company to precede the main body and follow on the trail of Mr. Wm. Sublet [Sublette] and Sir Wm. Stewart, who were ahead with a company of men on a party of pleasure to the Moun-

tains, we succeeded in making our company eight persons, and again began to travel.

The Emigrants, amounting, in all, to about six hundred persons, after they had finished crossing, organized themselves into a sort of traveling Government; adopted a short code of laws, employed a pilot, and elected a captain and officers of the guard. We still continued to travel up the Kansas; but leaving it further and further to the left. The valley of this stream is high rolling prairies, and is very fertile. Its bottoms are wide, and there are numerous branches coming in from both sides, on all of which there is timber of most varieties found West of the Mississippi, some of which is good.

Ninety miles above our crossing we came to and crossed Big Blue River, one of its main branches. Here the Emigrants came up with us, and it was late in the night before their last wagons got over. This region has the character of being the residence of storms, and immediately after our arrival some of the blustering inhabitants introduced themselves in a manner that was by no means agreeable. After the sun went down a dense black cloud covered the sky, from which the rain fell in torrents during the whole night. The extreme darkness was dispelled by the dazzling and incessant flashes of lightning. The thunder kept up a constant roar, and frequently its sharp peals resembled the discharge of volleys of artillery. The wind blew so high that most of the tents were thrown down, and one of the wagons was fairly blown over. The surface of the ground was flooded with water, and in the morning we found the River, which we had crossed on the past evening without difficulty, had risen so rapidly as to overflow its bottoms near one fourth of a mile on either side, and was entirely impassable.

This is the middle ground between the Kansas and Pawnee Indians. The day before we crossed the Big

Blue River, we met a war party of Kaws (Kansas), returning from the Pawnee country. They told us they had seen the Pawnees, and had beaten them in battle; but we learned afterwards, from a more creditable source, that it was exactly the other way. They had one or two fresh scalps and as many wounded men, and were leaving the world behind them as fast as possible. We saw their battle-ground afterwards and found on it two or three dead bodies. Here, the Emigrants, finding that it was inconvenient and retarding to their progress to travel in so large a body, dissolved their first organization and formed themselves into smaller companies.

It continued to rain, at intervals, for several days, and the road which had before been as good as we could wish, became quite muddy and bad. After leaving Big Blue River we continued to travel through a country very similar to that previously described, excepting that the proportion of timber was less, until we came to the Little Blue River—a distance of 70 miles; and here the hills bordering on the stream are a little sandy. After striking this stream we continued to travel up it 50 miles; then leaving it, turned across in a North Westerly direction, for the main Platte River. On the Little Blue River we found a few Antelopes, which were the first wild animals of any size, which we had seen since we had left the States; and after leaving the waters of the Kansas we found no bees, and this, from all that we could learn, is the farthest point West which they have yet reached. Nor did we find any of the wild fowels, or smaller animals common in the Western States, until we passed the Mountains. We reached the Platte River in the evening; the distance across being about 25 miles, which is the greatest, on the whole route, without water.

After leaving the waters of the Kansas, the character of the country changes rapidly. The hills, on either side of

the narrow valley of the Platte, which is from five to ten miles wide, are little else than huge piles of sand. The valley itself is quite sandy; but it nevertheless produces a rich grass, which our animals were very fond of. It is also covered, in many places, with the Prickly Pear, the thorns of which frequently get into the feet of the loose cattle and produce lameness. The River is from one to three miles in width, and the bed of the channel is entirely of quicksand. When we came to it, it was quite full, and the water was every where running level with its banks, but seldom overflowing them, and was running with a strong, even current. There is, in many places along the Platte, a kind of salt, with which the ground, in spots, is covered; and the water in the River is slightly impregnated. In some of the sloughs and pools, back from the River, the water is very strong. We found but little wood here, and none except immediately on the River. We were frequently unable to procure it, and were compelled, sometimes, to make a strange substitute in the excrement of the Buffalo, in order to do our cooking. The varieties of timber are few; the principal kind being what is commonly called Cotton Wood. We saw great numbers of Antelopes, as we passed up the River; but they were so wild, and the valley was so level, that it was difficult to approach them. We also saw a singular little animal, which has been called the Prairie Dog. Its size, shape and color, are very much the same as the large wharf rat, and its barking resembles that of the common Gray Squirrel. They burrow in the ground and live in villages, frequently of several hundreds. There is a small Owl that sometimes lives in the same hole with the Dog.

As we were now coming into the game country, and expecting every day to see the plains covered with herds of Buffalo; we made up a hunting party, (having previously joined one of the emigrating parties,) of 20 men, and pro-

ceeded up the River ahead of the wagons, to obtain meat and dry it by the time they would come up, in order to make as little detention as possible. In the evening of the second day we heard the guns of some of the party, who were in chase of a Buffalo along the Southern side of the valley, and as we saw the clouds begin to swell, dark and angrily above the Western horizon, and heard their thunders muttering heavily behind the hills, we thought it prudent to halt and prepare our camp. As we saw no timber ahead, and did not wish to go back, we stopped upon the open prairie, on the nearest high ground to the River. The rain had begun to fall; but several of us who were anxious to see the Buffalo, disregarding it, mounted our horses and galloped across the valley, in the direction of which we had heard the reports of the guns. The wind was blowing a gale; the clouds grew darker, until they almost shut out the light of the setting sun. The rain increased, and by the time we had reached the spot where the hunters were butchering, it poured down upon us as if all the windows of Heaven had been at once unbarred. The lightning and the thunder were dimming to the eye and deafening to the ear; and, withal, it was certainly just as cold as it could be without the water congealing. "I never saw it rain before," said a poor fellow, whose teeth were chattering together in a manner that seemed to threaten the destruction of his masticators. "Nor I,"—"nor I,"—"nor I,"—echoed half a dozen others, who were, as far as wet and cold were concerned, about in the same condition that they would have been had they been soaked an age in the Atlantic Ocean, and just hung out on the North Cape to dry. We made all possible haste; but, nevertheless, it was near two hours and growing quite dark, before we were ready to return to camp: and then we were so benumbed by the wet and cold, and encumbered with the meat which we had taken, that it was quite

dark by the time we reached the River. When we came to the place where we had left the camp, we learned from one who had been waiting for us, that they had moved down the River, in hopes of finding wood. We therefore threw the remainder of our things, which had been left, upon our horses, and started to look for the camp. We saw our way by the lightning, and after traveling as we thought long enough to have gone several miles, we turned over the point of a hill and saw a small light, like that of a candle, away below us on the River. Taking a straight line for the light, we at length reached it, after having waded through a dozen sloughs up to our waists. We had expected to find a large blazing fire, and thought how comfortable we should be when we could warm and dry around it; and as we had not eaten any thing since morning, our appetites began to remind us how excellent a piece of roasted Buffalo meat would be. But how sadly were we disappointed, to find our companions shivering around a few coals, over which for fuel there was only a heap of green willow brush. Wet, cold, and hungry we spread our beds, which were of course as wet as water could make them, and turned in; but not to sleep—it was only to dodge the wind, and shiver the night away. At length the sky became clear, and the cold increased. We watched the stars, which seemed stationary in the sky. A dozen nights, according to the reckoning of our feelings, had time to have passed, and to us it appeared as though the sun would never rise; but at length it came, and never was dawn of day hailed more rapturously. One who was braver than the rest, summoning all his resolution, crawled out of bed: he would have leaped and run, had he been able; but that was impossible. His limbs refused to do their duty, and taking a hatchet, he waded across an arm of the River to an Island, upon which there was wood, and began cutting and carrying across. His example

aroused others, and we soon had a large blazing fire. We spent several hours in putting our arms in order, drying our clothes and bedding, and appeasing our appetites on roasted ribs and marrow bones.

There were twenty of us, and we have frequently heard every one of that number say, afterwards, that they had seen some rough service in the world, but they had never met with any thing that could equal the night of the storm on the Platte. We continued to travel up the river, hunting as we went; but without much success. We saw a number of small herds of Buffalo; but they were generally too wild to approach, and too poor to eat after we had killed them. At the Forks, one hundred miles above where we first struck the River, we encamped, and by going several miles out beyond the hills, we succeeded in killing a number of Buffalo, the meat of which we brought in, dried and distributed among the company, when they came up; but the quantity was so small, in proportion to the numbers with whom it was to be divided, that it made scarcely a taste.

The Forks of the Platte is about the middle ground between the Pawnees and the Sioux. We saw a few of the Pawnees, in passing through their country, who were returning from the South, where they had been hunting, with packs of dried Buffalo meat, to their village, situated about fifty miles below where we struck the Platte. They are tall, but well proportioned and active. They raise some corn, but live principally upon the Buffalo, and are the most notorious rascals any where East of the Rocky Mountains.

The valley immediately at the junction of the two Branches of the Platte, is nearly twenty miles wide, and a large portion of it has a good soil. After we had passed the Forks, we made several attempts to cross the South Branch, but always found the water too deep; and con-

tinued to travel up the South side, until we saw that it would be impossible for us to find a ford ; when we stopped at a large Cotton Wood grove, eighty-five miles above the Forks. Having determined to construct boats for this purpose, we procured in the first place, a sufficient number of green Buffalo hides, and having sewed two of them together for each boat, we stretched them over the wagon beds as tight as we could, with the flesh side out, and then turned them up in the sun to dry ; and when they became thoroughly dry, we covered them with tallow and ashes, in order to render them more impervious to the water. The boats being completed, we proceeded to cross the goods of the company. Each boat was manned by six men. Some waded or swam along side, while others pulled by a long rope which was attached forward. The River here was about a mile wide. In this way the goods were ferried over, and the empty wagons were drawn across by the teams a short distance below, where the River was wider and shallower. The crossing was effected in six days, and without any serious accident. We passed here the fourth day of July. The country, as we advanced West, became more and more barren, until here it was little else than a desert : and between this point and where we first saw the Platte River, it receives no tributaries from the South.

Having crossed the South Fork, we turned across the higher dividing lands, and traveled one day North West twenty miles, to the North Fork, without water. After traveling up the North Fork sixty-five miles, through a country still increasing in sterility, we came to what is called the Chimney. It is situated on the South side of the North Fork, three miles from the River. It is a conical hill, one hundred and fifty feet high ; from the top of which, a peculiar irregular shaft rises to the same height — making the whole about three hundred feet. The base of the hill is elevated above the water in the River, about

seventy-five feet. It is a hard earth, composed of sand and clay, and may be seen for twenty or thirty miles. There are here several ranges of detached Sand Hills, running parallel with the River, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, destitute of vegetation, and so washed by the rains of thousands of years, as to present, at a distance, the appearances of Cities, Temples, Castles, Towers, Palaces, and every variety of great and magnificent structures.

On the 9th of July we had a splendid prospect of these Sand Hills. A dark cloud arose in the West, and the whole region was illumined by the reflected rays of the Sun, which, mellowed by its effect had lost their dazzling power; and the prospect was softened, until it seemed one vast brilliant picture, wrought with a mysteriously magic touch. Beneath the rising cloud was a vast plain, bounded only by the distant horizon. Here and there, upon its surface, there arose splendid edifices, like beautiful white marble, fashioned in the style of every age and country, canopied by the clouds; yet gilded and flooded by the mellowed light of the mid-day Sun. It was so beautiful that it could not be lost while it lasted, and though the gathering clouds threatened to drench us with their contents, we nevertheless continued to gaze until the beautiful illusion passed away.

Late in the evening of the same day, we encamped by a fine Spring, at the foot of Scott's Bluffs, a range of high Sand Hills, which run into the River. They receive their name from a melancholy circumstance which happened at them, several years ago. A small party of Trappers were returning from the Mountains, to their homes in Missouri. Owing to the hostility of the Indians who inhabited the country, (the Sioux,) it was necessary for their safety that they should not be seen. To prevent this, required the greatest precaution in their movements. A few days before they reached this place, one of their

number, named Scott, was taken sick and continued to grow worse, until he was unable to proceed. His companions carried him to these bluffs, and supposing that he could not recover, they left him. Others passing that way, some years after, found his bones a short distance from where he had been left. From this circumstance, these hills have been called since that time, after the name of that unfortunate adventurer. In the extreme point of these hills, near the River, and about fifty feet above high water, are found great numbers of semi-petrified Turtles, from one to two feet across, imbedded in the sand, and many of them entirely perfect. There are no animals of this kind now in the Platte River, or elsewhere in the country, for several hundred miles around.

We continued up the North Fork, and on the 13th came to Lauramie[Laramie] Fork, opposite Fort Lauramie. Finding it full, we were obliged to ferry, and for this purpose we procured two small boats from the Forts, lashed them together, and covered them with a platform made of wagon beds, which we had taken to pieces for the purpose. Upon this platform, we placed the loaded wagons by hand, and although the stream was very rapid, all succeeded in crossing without much difficulty. A few hours after we crossed, a hail storm came up from the North West; before which, our animals ran for several miles, over the hills. Fort Lauramie belongs to the American Fur Company, and is built for a protection against the Indians. The occupants of the Fort, who have been long there, being mostly French and having married wives of the Sioux, do not now apprehend any danger. The Fort is built of Dobies (unburnt bricks). A wall of six feet in thickness and fifteen in height, encloses an area of one hundred and fifty feet square. Within and around the wall, are the buildings, constructed of the same material. These are a Trading House, Ware Houses for storing

goods and skins, Shops and Dwellings for the Traders and Men. In the centre, is a large open area. A portion of the enclosed space is cut off by a partitioned wall, forming a carell (enclosure) for the animals belonging to the Fort. About one mile below Fort Lauramie, is Fort Platte; which is built of the same materials and in the same manner and belongs to a private Trading company.

On the morning of the 16th, we left the Forts, and after having traveled ten miles, we came to the Black Hills, and encamped at a large Spring, the water of which was quite warm. The road through these hills is, of necessity, very circuitous; winding about as it must, to avoid the steeps, ravines and rocks. They are very barren and some of them are high. On Long's Peak, which rises to the South, we could see a small spot of snow. We found in places, a few trees of Pine and Cedar scattered over the hills; but they were all small and quite dwarfish. We crossed a number of Creeks on our way through the Black Hills, in the narrow bottom lands of which, we generally found good grass for our animals.

On the 20th, we met Messrs. Vasques and Walker, with a company of twenty or thirty men, coming down from the Mountains, where Messrs. Vasques and Bridger have a small Trading Post among the Shoshones or Snake Indians. They were loaded with furs and skins, which they were taking to the Forts on the Platte, where they supply themselves with such articles as they want for the Indian trade.

Eighty miles above Fort Lauramie, we came to the Red Buttes (isolated hills). They occupy a space of many miles in extent, and a large portion of the earth and stone of which they are composed, is as red as blood.

On the 23d we crossed the North Fork, one hundred and twenty-seven miles above Fort Lauramie, and for two days after leaving it, we suffered considerably for the want

of water—the little which we found being strongly impregnated with a kind of Salt, prevalent almost everywhere in the neighborhood of the waters of the Platte. At one of these Salt Springs, there are numerous sinks, into which the Buffalo sometimes fall and perish. The surfaces of them are dry, and appear firm; but in many places they would mire a man, so that it would be impossible for him to extricate himself or escape, without assistance.

On the 25th we came to Willow Springs, where we found a beautiful spring, of very clear cold water, rising in a little green valley, through which its water flow about one mile, and sink in the sand. We also found here, an abundance of Willow wood. The hunters, who had been out while we were traveling, had seen several bands of Buffalo; and as they were the first we had met with since we left the South Fork, we remained in camp nearly a day, in order to recruit our stock of provisions. The great scarcity of the Buffalo, through this country—a circumstance which afterwards was the cause of much suffering to the Emigrants—was attributable, in a great degree, to the presence of Sir William Stewart, with his pleasure party, and fifty or sixty fine horses for the chase; who, while we were passing through the Buffalo country, constantly kept several days ahead of us—running, killing and driving the game out of our reach. It was cheap sport to them, but dear to us; and we were led to conclude, that, if ever again an English or Scottish nobleman sees fit to look for pleasure in the Rocky Mountains, while an emigrating party is passing over them, it will be prudent to place him in the rear, instead of the van.

On the 20th we encamped on Sweet Water, one of the tributaries of the North Fork, near the Independence Rock; which is a huge isolated mass of coarse granite, about three fourths of a mile in circumference, one hundred feet high, rather oblong, and rounded on the top.

On the South side, next to the stream, which runs within ten yards of its base, it is almost covered with the names of different persons, who have traveled through this country. It was called Independence Rock, by Mr. Wm. Sublet, an old Indian Trader; who, several years ago, celebrated here the 4th of July. These masses of detached and barren rocks extend many miles up Sweet Water, principally on the North side. At the Sweet Water Cañon, about four miles above the Independence Rock, the river runs half a mile through a narrow chasm, between rugged and almost perpendicular walls of rock, which rise on either side to the height of about three hundred feet (and this constitutes what is known through the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California, as a cañon). Being informed by those who were acquainted with the country, that we should soon leave the Buffalo region, all the different companies of the Emigration remained several days on this part of Sweet Water, to procure provisions for the remainder of the journey. Owing to the scarcity of game, we were compelled to travel a day, and sometimes further, from the road to find it. We made up a party here from our company, to go to the Mountains on the South, which were distant about fifteen miles from the River. Having crossed over the plain, and seeing but few Buffalo, and those we saw being very wild, and some of the bands being already pursued by other hunters; we continued along the Mountain to the farther extremity of the valley, and finding nothing here, we held a council, to decide what course it was best to pursue. Differing in opinion, the larger number turned back to follow the base of the Mountain on the North side, while a small party continued on, intending to cross over it. We found it very steep, rugged, and difficult of ascent; and night overtaking us near the summit, we were compelled to encamp. The Mountain was covered in places with pine, and there were

many small streams running down its sides, upon which there was an abundance of grass. The night was quite cold; but as we were in a deep sink at the source of one of these Mountain streams, we thought there would be little danger of being seen, and built up a large fire, by which we slept very comfortably, having, before going to rest, tied our animals on the grass. In the morning we ascended to the summit, to ascertain what lay beyond it, and look over the best probable field for game. Having gained it, we saw an extensive plain, through which, at a great distance, there was a River flowing, which we supposed to be the North Fork of the Platte. The descent to it was easy, and there were several bands of Buffalo feeding upon it, below us. We returned for our horses, and having passed into the plain, began to approach the nearest herd, but they took fright before we came within shooting distance, and we proceeded to the next. Having come near them, we stopped, leaving one of our company with the animals, while we approached nearer on foot. The ground favoring, we succeeded in bringing them within the range of the rifle, and killed three before they ran off. It was now the second day since we had eaten, and as soon as we could load our animals with the choice meat, we went to the nearest water, (which, contrary to the way it generally happens, was only a short distance from us,) kindled a fire and had a fine feast of "roasted ribs and marrow bones."

Having what meat we could carry we proceeded West, along the foot of the Mountain, for a deep gap, which we had seen from the other side, in the evening. About sunset, as we were going along, we saw three Bears, up in the breaks of the Mountain, busily engaged scratching in the earth for roots. Having taken advantage of the ground we approached near to them, and again leaving our partner, who was not a very good shot, a little distance behind

with the horses and mules, we climbed up to the brink of the ridge between us and the Bears, and fired at the largest one. It fell, and supposing that we had given it a dead shot, we borrowed our companion's gun, intending to serve the second in the same way; but finding the first still alive, we gave him the contents of the second gun, upon receiving which he sprang upon one of the others, and cuffed him until he squalled for dear life. We returned and were hastily reloading our rifles, and had only poured down the powder, when all three came rushing to the top of the hill, roaring most furiously, and so loud that the answering hills and hollow caves were filled with the beastly thunder. They stopped within forty yards of us, and in open view, rearing up on their hinder feet, the wounded one in the middle—which, as he stood, was about eight feet high—with the blood streaming from his mouth and down his side, snuffing the air on every side, to catch some tainted breath of us; but the wind was ours, and being blind with rage and pain, he did not discover us. Our companion became dreadfully frightened, so that he lost all reason, and commenced running around his horse, and exclaiming loudly, "Oh Lord! what shall we do?" We told him to mount; but he still continued running around his horse, bawling at the top of his voice: "Good God Almighty! what shall we do?" "Mount! mount!" said we again; but he paid no attention, and was making about the twentieth trip around his horse, crying aloud, "Oh Lord!" "Oh Lord!" at every step, when we gave a loud whoop, and the two bears that were not wounded wheeled and ran off, and the wounded one tumbled back down the hill. This set our partner a little to rights, and turning to us, with a look of most perfect simplicity, he exclaimed, in a half weeping tone, "Good God! we can't fight them three Bears." You were frightened, were you not? said we. "O no, no, not bad scared," said he; "but stop—stop—

look here," he continued, "may such another beautiful roar as we just now heard, be my music from this on if you ever catch me in a bear fight again," he added, shaking his head.

Having finished charging our rifles, and despatching the wounded animal, we proceeded towards the gap, traveling until late in the night, when one of the mules throwing off and scattering his load, obliged us to encamp. The next morning we set out again, at the dawn of day, and soon reached the gap, which we found to be a deep break, extending entirely through the Mountain, and about two hundred yards wide. In passing through the gap we came to several fine looking springs bursting out from the base of the Mountain, and dismounting to drink we found them to be strong of Sulphur, and upon examining more closely we saw the little cave out of which the largest one ran, in a stream about equal to the size of a man's arm, was entirely covered with a thick coat of crystalized Sulphur. The water was cold, slightly acid, and very pleasant. The country around is romantic, affords all the different varieties of game common in the Mountains, and would, we think, be an excellent resort for invalids, and persons of weak and disordered constitutions. The trip, the pure Mountain air, and the rough and wholesome manner of living, have already restored many who were before feeble and afflicted to health, strength and activity; and we are convinced they are better remedies for constitutional or pulmonary diseases than all the Patent Medicines and learned prescriptions, with which the public have ever been gulled.

Having passed through the gap we traveled across the valley of the Sweet Water, and to the trail of the Emigrants, and saw, from its size, that all the companies had passed. We hastened to overtake them, which we did that night, but not until late. During our absence Messrs. Vasques

and Walker came up, on their return from Fort Laura-mie, and afterwards traveled with us to their Trading House.

On the 1st of August we saw arise from the horizon, like distant clouds, the snow crested summits of the Wind River Mountains. They are several miles North of the Grand Pass, and are one of the highest portions of the Rocky Mountain range.

On the 2nd we made another hunting party, and proceeded again across the Mountain, on the South. After having gone about thirty miles from the trail we saw a large band of Buffaloes; but as it was late in the evening we thought it best not to disturb them before morning. When morning came not a Buffalo could be seen upon the plain. We hunted again all day, and in every direction, without finding any thing, and encamped at night in the Mountains, between where we were and Sweet Water. The third day we went about fifteen miles further to the South and saw a band Buffaloes. We attempted to approach them, but they were so wild that we could not get within a mile of them before they would run. While following them we saw an Indian, about half a mile off, and galloped towards him. At first he fled, but finding that he could not escape, he stopped. When we came up one of our party, (a Trader belonging to the Company then traveling with us,) who understood his language, spoke to him. He was very much frightened when he saw that we knew he was a Sioux, expecting to be killed on the spot. We asked him where his company were. He told us they were at a Lake, which was about three miles distant, making meat, and that they were three hundred in number. We turned to go away when the Trader observed that we ought to kill him; but the rest of us objected, and he was overruled. Turning again to speak to him, he said he thought we had two hearts: one to kill

him and another to let him go, and that he did not know how to talk to us: that he did not know whether he should go under or not—(meaning that he did not know whether we did or did not intend to kill him). But we turned away and left him, taking a straight course for the Company, thinking it not very safe to be in the neighborhood of three hundred Sioux. We put spurs to our horses, and kept a good gait until we considered that we were out of their reach.

We arrived at our Company's encampment that night, having killed nothing. When we told them of our adventure with the Sioux, all the Traders joined in exclaiming against us, for not killing him. We plead that it was unmanly and unfair to take the life even of the meanest enemy, under such circumstances; but they adopted the Indian argument, and said that as we were among Indians, we must treat them as they treated us; and so the white people, who live in the Rocky Mountains, act towards their enemies.

On the evening of the 7th we left the head of Sweet Water, and in a few hours passed over the dividing ridge, through the Grand Pass, and encamped by a marsh, which is one of the sources of Green River, a tributary of the Colorado, of the Gulf of California.

We slept here, on the great Backbone of North America, where the sources of the Rivers which empty into the oceans which bound it, on the East and on the West, are only a few miles apart.

The lofty summits of the Wind River Mountains, with their wide fields of eternal snow, appeared to be almost beside us. We had a heavy frost during the night, and in the morning the water in our camp kettles was covered with ice nearly one fourth of an inch thick; and every thing that had been exposed to the dew, which fell in the evening, was perfectly glazed with ice.

Both the ascent and descent were so gradual, that, had we not been told, we should have passed over the dividing ridge in the Rocky Mountains without knowing it. The distance from our crossing of the North Fork of the Platte to the summit of the Grand Pass is one hundred and fifty-four miles; and the country between is a perfect desert.

CHAPTER II.

THE JOURNEY OUT, WITH ITS INCIDENTS.

Trading House of Vasques and Bridger — Attacked by the Sioux — Soda Springs — Deep Chasm and the Crater of an extinct Volcano — Fort Hall — Snake or Lewis River, Falls, etc. — Snow Storm, and difficulty of starting fire — Indians along Snake River — Numerous evidences of great Volcanic action in past times — Fort Boise — Hills of Marble — Grand Round — Blue Mountains, etc. — Whitman's Mission, on the Walawala — Fort Walawala — Columbia River, Falls, etc. — Cascade Mountains — Wascopin Methodist Mission — Indian Burying Place — Fort Vancouver — Arrival at Oregon City, etc.

Having crossed the two Sandys, (branches of Green River,) on the 10th of August we crossed the main stream, a large and beautiful River, the water of which, unlike that on the opposite side of the Mountains, is very clear. Having crossed several of the tributaries of Green River, on the 13th we arrived at the Trading House of Messrs. Vasques and Bridger. It had been attacked, during their absence, by a band of Sioux, by whom the horse guard, and two Snake Indians, had been killed, and a number of horses driven off.

We remained here three days, and then went on to the Utah¹ [Uintah] Mountains, at the head of Bear River, to hunt elk, as our stock of provisions was nearly exhausted. We made our camp at the foot of the Mountain, where we remained ten days, during which time the Utah Indians came to us, to trade horses, skins, etc. We met with but

¹ It will be observed that the original forms of all proper names are retained, as this is a reprint and not a revision. Explanatory words in brackets are added only when identifications seem to be needed.— ED.

little success in hunting, and on the 28th started down the River.

On the 1st of September it rained, was quite cold, and the hills were covered with snow. This day we struck the trail of the Oregon Company, and during the nights we had heavy frosts. The valley of the River is from one to eight miles wide. A large portion of it has a good soil, and is covered with an excellent grass. Flax grows spontaneously in this valley, and in considerable quantities. The hills on either side rise very high, and are rugged and barren, and there are only a few Cotton Wood trees scattered along the River. These streams abound with a fine fish called the Mountain Trout. We found wild Goats and large flocks of Geese, Ducks and Cranes, but they had been so much hunted by the Emigrants, that it was almost impossible to kill any of them.

On the 4th we came to where the valley appeared to terminate,—the River turning short to the left, and making a breach through the high range of hills on the West; but the general course of Bear River is nearly North. Here we crossed over the hills, and again came into the valley beyond.

On the 7th, we reached the Soda Springs. They are on the East side of Bear River, and are scattered over a level space, about equal, in extent, to one square mile; with a slight inclination to the River, and elevated above it some fifteen feet. A large portion of this level space is covered with a stunted growth of Pine and Cedar. The earth is of various colors. In some places it is almost perfectly white, and in others, quite red, etc. Above, below, and on the opposite side of the River, the valley is rich, and covered with fine grass. The Mountains, on the North and East, are barren; but on the West, they are covered with Pine. The Springs are deep pots in the earth, from one to fifteen feet across, and generally without an outlet. The water

appears to be originally fresh, and seems to rise to a common level in all the springs; and in these pools, which have been probably made by strong jets of the rising gas, it becomes highly charged. A slight hissing sound, is occasioned by the escapement of the gas. The water in many of the Springs, where the surface exposed is small, is cool, very pleasant, and has a fine, pure and lively acid.

About half a mile below, and immediately on the bank of the River, there is a Spring where the water, (which is quite warm,) at intervals of fifteen seconds, is thrown several feet in the air, from the centre of a small conical rock, which it has formed about it. A few feet from where the water escapes, there is a hole in the rock, connected with the channel through which the water passes, which inhales and exhales the air, like an animal breathing. There are numbers of dried-up fountains, similar to this, back from the River, hollow truncated cones, from three to thirty feet in diameter. Several Springs rise in the bed of the River, the water of which is quite warm. Everything here has the appearance of recent and powerful volcanic action, and doubtless the causes still exist, at no very great distance.

Five miles below the Soda Springs, the River makes an acute angle about a bold and lofty point, called the Sheep Rock, running away to the South West. Here, also, it seems to have made a breach through the Mountain, into another valley. Formerly, the Blackfoot Indians frequented this country; and, at this Rock, they had repeated battles with the Mountaineers, and with other tribes of Indians; and here the effects of their deadly encounters may still be seen, in bleached skulls and scattered bones. At this point, we left the River, and bore off to the right, across the valley, which is about ten miles wide. This valley appears to have been sunk several feet and is full of chasms, from two to twenty feet wide, and of unknown

depth. Volcanic rock is scattered over it, in large masses ; and in many places, it appears to have been upheaved from beneath. We passed, on the left, a large, hollow mound, the crater of an extinguished Volcano.

It was late in the night before we reached the Western side of the valley, and found wood and water for our camp. The water upon which we encamped, was a branch of the Portneiff, a tributary of Snake or Lewis River. We noticed, scattered over the country, a kind of black volcanic glass, shaped like the fragments of a broken bottle. Winding our way through the hills, by a very circuitous route, on the 13th of September we arrived at Fort Hall. It is situated on the South bank of Snake River, in a rich valley, about twelve miles wide and twenty-five miles long, and in latitude about 43 deg. 20 min. North. The Portneiff, Black Foot, and many other small streams, run through this valley of Fort Hall. The streams are lined with a fine growth of Cotton Wood timber, and the entire valley abounds in excellent grass. The Company keep several hundred cattle and horses at this place, which live through the winter, generally, without much attention. We were told by one of the members of the Company, that wheat had been sown at the Fort, and grew well. Fort Hall is built of the same material, and nearly in the same manner, as the Forts on the Platte are.

Leaving Fort Hall we traveled down the South bank of Snake River, and a few miles below we crossed the Portneiff, a beautiful little stream emptying into it; and at eighteen miles came to the American Falls. Here the river, compressed into about two thirds of its usual width, runs down over rugged volcanic rock, a descent of about twenty-five feet in one hundred. The water is divided into three different shoots by two large rocks on the Falls. In the middle shoot there is scarcely any perpendicular fall; in the other two there is about ten feet. Below these Falls,

for many miles, the spurs of the Mountains on the South side run down to the river, and the road over them is in many places steep and rocky. We crossed a number of small creeks which run down from these Mountains to the River, the water of which is cool and clear. Many of the hills, over which we passed, were covered with a dwarfish growth of Cedar, and the Mountains on the South with Pine. The River, below the Falls, runs through a deep and narrow cañon, between black and rugged basaltic walls, and is little else than a succession of Falls and Rapids.

The valley through which Snake River flows is very wide, elevated from one to three hundred feet above the stream, and bounded on the North and South by parallel ranges of high Mountains. Its surface is broken and cut by deep ravines. It is very sandy and barren, producing nothing but wild sage and a few scattering blades of short grass. In traveling through this valley it is necessary to obtain some directions from those who are acquainted with the way, since grass is seldom found, except on the small streams.

A few days after our departure from Fort Hall we left our camp one morning; when, according to our bill of the route, we had a long stretch ahead before we would come to wood and water. The clouds were floating heavily along the sides of the distant Mountains, and the wind blowing in fitful gusts, made us fearful of an approaching storm. But our scanty supply of provisions induced us to proceed. We had not gone very far before the Heavens were completely obscured by the clouds. The cold increased to severity, and the mingled rain and snow, began to fall very fast. The dim trail, which led us over a high barren plain, became more and more indistinct from the accumulating snow. The distant Mountains, already as white as the flakes that filled the air, gradually faded in

the storm, and the extent of vision lessened as it increased. We were drenched with the rain and snow, and chilled and pinched with the cold, and in vain did we attempt to excite warmth by walking: for, loaded down with wet garments, and being accustomed to remain mostly on horseback, we were soon fatigued with traveling at a rapid rate over the wet dust and sand, and began to fall behind. We went on for some hours, the storm still continuing, and the same gloomy prospect was still around us. We were ignorant how long we should have to endure the cold and fatigue, before we could reach some poor shelter, or whether we might not entirely lose our obscure path, and be compelled to pass the night without shelter or fire. We began unanimously to give expression to such fears, when we came suddenly upon the river, at a small grove of Willow bushes, and hastened to unload our animals and kindle fires. It was a long time before we succeeded in producing fire from the flint and steel; but, after many attempts, we at length obtained it by sprinkling powder into the crown of a hat, together with whatever dry combustibles we could find, and discharging a pistol into it. To this we added the dry Willows which we had collected, and soon had a comfortable fire. We constructed frames of the green Willows, upon which we spread our blankets, and in this manner sheltered ourselves in some degree from the snow and rain, which continued to fall during most of the night. The weather, previous to this, had been quite warm, and on the succeeding day the clouds broke away and it was again pleasant.

Eighty-three miles below the American Falls, there is another tremendous perpendicular Fall in Snake River, over which the Salmon are unable to pass. Thirty-nine miles farther down, we saw, on the North side of the River, two very large Springs, bursting midway from the lofty precipices, rushing down like rivers, and foaming

along over the piles of rock. They looked, at a distance, like banks of snow resting on the cliffs.

Seventeen miles below these Springs, are the Salmon Falls. These Falls are not perpendicular, except in one or two small shoots on the North side. The great body of the water runs down an inclination of not more than twenty-five feet in three hundred yards. The river here is about one hundred and fifty yards wide, and divided by an Island, commencing at the lower end of the inclination and extending down one fourth of a mile. The Salmon pass over the Falls with ease, when there is sufficient water on them. The surrounding country is very rough, broken, and entirely destitute of both grass and wood. The hills are, from the water in the River, about three hundred feet high. On the South side they are cut up by ravines; but on the North, they come bold and unbroken up within a few hundred yards of the water. There is nothing very picturesque or wild about these Falls, compared with the world of waste and wreck around them. The Indians take immense quantities of Salmon here, which they cut into thin slices, dry in the Sun, and afterwards pack them up in grass cases. The natives along Snake River live principally upon fish and roots, and are the fattest, most depraved, and degraded creatures anywhere to be found among the dregs of human nature. We have been told that during the Salmon season they become as fat as penned pigs, and in the winter so poor and feeble that they frequently die from actual starvation.

After leaving the Salmon Falls, we traveled down near the river, our path frequently leading us along the sides of the almost perpendicular bluffs. Twenty-seven miles below the Salmon Falls we came to the crossing where the companies which preceded us had passed over to the North side, which is much the nearest and best way, but we, having attempted the crossing and finding it too

deep, were obliged to continue down on the South. This is, perhaps, the most rugged, desert and dreary country, between the Western borders of the United States and the shores of the Pacific. It is nothing else than a wild, rocky, barren wilderness, of wrecked and ruined Nature, a vast field of volcanic desolation.

Beyond the Mountains, which rise on the South of this point, is the great Salt Lake. Eighty-eight miles below the crossing of Snake River, we crossed two small branches of hot water. This region appears once to have been a high, level plain, which seems to have been overflowed from the East by a vast flood of lava. We were led to this conclusion from noticing that the basaltic layer, which covers the surface of the hills, (the summit of the hills being nearly on the same level,) decreases in thickness as we proceed down the River, until it gives out entirely; and the sandy base which composes the hills, seems to have given away to the action of time, until these table hills are but the fragments of the vast wreck. In these deserts we found the Horned Toad and a kind of Lizard, which is about eight inches in length, of a grayish color, slenderly proportioned, very swift, and apparently inoffensive.

Thirty-two miles below the Hot Branches, we crossed the Owyhe River, traveled down it two miles, and came opposite Fort Boise, which is situated on the North side of Snake River, a short distance below the confluence of the Owyhe and Boise; the latter of which, comes in from the North. There is, on the Boise River, a great deal of Cotton Wood timber, from which circumstance, it takes its name. From the crossing of Snake River to where it passes through the Blue Mountains, there seems to be no Falls or dangerous rapids. At Fort Boise, part of our company which came from Fort Hall, in hopes of procuring provisions, with the intention of going across into

California, having obtained small supply, and the best directions they could get concerning the route, from Captain Payette, the principal at the Fort, (who appeared to be friendly, and much of a gentleman,) left us, to travel through a country, a large portion of which no white man had ever visited. They were to follow the Malheur, a small stream that empties into Snake River twelve miles below the Fort, to its source, and to pass over the California Mountains, to the head waters of the Sacramento.

Leaving Fort Boise we traveled twelve miles, and crossed the Malheur, where there are many Hot Springs, rising out of the bank of the stream. Twenty-three miles from the Malheur we came to the Brule or Burnt River, and traveled up it to its source, leaving Snake River entirely. After striking the Brule, the country gradually becomes less barren. We found on this stream vast hills of marble. The road through these hills is very crooked and rough. From the head of the Brule, we came next to the valley of Powder River. Here the aspect of the country changes rapidly. Leaving behind us the Sage and Sand, we find the hills and Mountains covered with Pines, and the little valleys along the Creeks and Rivers with excellent grass. This valley is about ten miles wide and thirty miles long, a large portion of which has a good soil. It is encircled by hills and Mountains.

Thirty-three miles from Powder River, we descend abruptly some three thousand feet, into the Grand Round, which is a level plain about ten miles wide and twenty miles long, surrounded by Mountains, and traversed by the Grand Round River, which comes in from the West, runs nearly to the middle of the plain in several channels, joins with another branch, bears away to the left, and leaves the plain at its Northern extremity, through a low gap. Numerous small creeks and rivulets run through all parts of the valley from the surrounding Mountains.

There are some balm trees on the River, and the Mountains are covered with Pine. Much the largest portion of the soil is very rich, and the whole is covered with a superior quality of grass. From the Grand Round we bore to the left, and began the ascent of the Blue Mountains. It was long but gradual. After reaching the summit, the road was generally passable, excepting some deep ravines, which were frequently very steep and rocky. A great portion of these Mountains are covered with dense forests of lofty pine. Those portions which are destitute of timber are generally covered with good grass, and a considerable portion of the soil appears to be fit for cultivation.

On the third day, we left the Mountains and descended to the Umatila or Utilla River, (generally called in that country, the Utilla,) in the valley of Walawala. From the brow of the Mountain, we had a fine view of the Cascade range, fifty miles distant, forming the Western boundary of the valley, stretching far to the North and South, with its lofty peaks of eternal snow rising among the clouds. The extent of the Walawala valley is not known; but it is probably three hundred miles long, with an average width of about fifty miles. Its course, from and below the junction of Snake River, is nearly South; above, it bends away to the East. The Columbia River runs through it to the Dales; where it leaves the valley, and breaks through the Cascade Mountains. This valley, is elevated above the Columbia from fifty to five hundred feet, and is very uneven, dry, sandy, and entirely unfit for cultivation, except along the base of the Mountains, and immediately on the smaller streams which run through it; the principal of which are the Walawala, Umatila, John Days, and De Chutes Rivers. Almost the whole of the valley is covered with a superior quality of grass; which springs up in the Fall, is green through the Winter and Spring, be-

comes cured in the latter part of Summer; and affords sufficient food for animals throughout the year. It grows in detached bunches; the blades are eight or nine inches long; and it is generally considered almost as nutritious as grain. With the exception of a few Cotton Wood trees on some of the streams, there is no timber in the valley; but there is an abundance on the neighboring Mountains. Lead has been found on the Umatila; but not, as yet, in any considerable quantities. This is the country of the Walawala Indians. They own a great many horses; some of them have as many as two thousand—and they are the finest Indian horses we have ever seen.

Thirty miles from the Umatila, we came to Whitman's Mission, situated on the Walawala River, twenty-five miles from its junction with the Columbia. The buildings are of unburnt brick, and are neatly and comfortably finished. The Missionaries have a Mill, and cultivate a small piece of ground.

We were told by Mr. Spaulding, the Superintendent of the Mission on Clear Water, distant about one hundred and fifty miles from Dr. Whitman's, and on the North side of Snake River, that in the neighborhood of his mission, as far as he was acquainted with the country, it contained many rich valleys, of considerable extent; and, from what we have been able to learn, from all the different sources of information with which we have been favored, it is our opinion that that portion of country lying between Snake River and the main branch of the Columbia, will in the course of time, be inhabited by a civilized people, as it doubtless contains some good valleys of land. The country of the Spokines, laying on the Spokine River, is said to be good. That occupied by the Cour De Lion and Calespell Indians, contains many Lakes and Marshes. About Fort Colville, on the upper Columbia, the Hudson's Bay Company cultivate the soil, with good success. Snake

River, from where it leaves the Blue Mountains, to its junction, is clear of Falls and Rapids.

From Dr. Whitman's Mission we proceeded to Fort Walawala, situated on the East bank of the Columbia at the mouth of the Walawala River. Here we disposed of our animals, procured canoes from the Indians, and having obtained a pilot from them, we cast our frail barks on the waters of the Columbia. The River, up and down from the Fort, as far as we could see, was broad and smooth, and we promised ourselves an agreeable passage, but we soon found that it was full of rocks, whirlpools, and dangerous rapids, to follow through which in safety required the greatest exertion, watchfulness and care. Our minds were constantly filled with anxiety and dread, and the wild manner in which our savage guide warned us of approaching danger had no tendency to dispel our unpleasant feelings. On the first day after leaving the Fort, one of our canoes, in which there were three persons, one of whom was a lady, in passing through a narrow shoot in the Grand Rapids, struck a rock, upset and filled instantly. The lady and her husband succeeded in gaining the rock, which was about three feet across the top, and just under the surface of the water. Our pilot succeeded in taking them off in safety, and regained most of the property. We passed on to what is called the Chutes, through many dangerous Rapids, to have accomplished which would have been very impracticable without skilful guidance. Here the river is wide, full of large rocks standing out of the water, and falls several feet. We were compelled to make a portage of nearly a mile over the rocks and sand, carrying our canoes and baggage on our shoulders. Three miles below the Chutes are the Little Dales, where the River runs three hundred yards through a narrow channel, between high rocks. Here we made another portage of our baggage and smallest canoe, and with

some difficulty hired the Indians to run the others through the rugged Cañon. A few miles further and we came to the Great Dales, where we were compelled to leave our smallest canoe, and again make a portage of our baggage a distance of one and a half miles, over the rocks. Here the whole Columbia runs through a Cañon not more than seventy feet wide, whirling and boiling in a most furious manner, running with terrible velocity, and chafing against its rugged, rocky wall, and it requires the most dexterous management, which these wild navigators are masters of, to pass the dreadful chasm in safety. A single stroke amiss would be inevitable destruction. Three miles below the mouth of this Cañon, and one hundred and twenty-five miles below Fort Walawala, is the Wascopin Methodist Mission, at this time under the superintendence of Mr. Perkins, and situated half a mile from the South bank of the River. They have a small farm attached to the Mission, under the superintendence of Mr. Brewer. Both this and the Mission on the Walawala River, though they are well located for the purposes for which they are intended, and conducted, perhaps, according to the best judgment of those who have charge of them have not yet, we believe, been productive of much, if any, good. Here we were obliged to remain more than a day on account of high wind, by which we were detained several days on our passage to the Cascade Falls. From the Mission to the Falls, a distance of fifty miles, the River has scarcely any current. The Mountains are high on either side, rocky, and in many places covered with heavy forests of Pine, some of which are at least ten feet in diameter and three hundred feet high. A short distance below the Mission, we found the stumps of trees, standing erect in ten or fifteen feet water, as if a dam had been thrown across the River, and the water backed up over its natural shores. We asked the Indians if they knew how

these stumps came to occupy their present position; but none of them were able to inform us. They have a tradition among them that long ago the Columbia, in some part, ran under the ground, and that during an eruption of Mt. St. Helens the bridge fell in. Some such circumstance as this is the only way possible in which this anomaly can be accounted for, unless Captain Fremont is correct, (which is certainly extremely doubtful,) in supposing them to be land slides. For they are found nowhere below the Cascade Falls, although the character of the River and its shores is, above and below these Falls, very much alike. They are found immediately above the Falls, and as far up as the still water extends, which lack of current in the River we consider to be the effect of some vast impediment having been thrown into it at the Cascade Falls. The Falls seem to be composed of large detached masses of rocks, which circumstance also favors our opinion. A short distance below the Wascopin Mission and the Rapids of the Great Dales we found the first of these submerged stumps. They increased in number as we descended the River, as is always the case wherever there has been an impediment thrown into the channel of a stream, so as to raise the water over its natural shores. Immediately above the Wascopin Mission, as we have before noticed, and at least as far up as Fort Walawala, the River is full of Falls and Rapids, and such also we believe to have been the original character of the River below, where we find, at the present time, these stumps and an entire lack of current; as this portion of it includes the breach through the Cascade Mountains, the most rugged country, perhaps, through which the Columbia flows. If these stumps and trees, (for many of them are still sixty or seventy feet above the water in the River) had been brought into their present position by land slides, as Captain Fremont suggests, it seems to us to be a matter of course that

the most of those which were not thrown down by the motion, and agitation, would have been found standing in various inclined positions, but on the contrary, we find them nearly all standing erect. And again, what is highly improbable, the slides must all have been very nearly simultaneous, as the trees are all about in the same state of preservation. The most of them stand opposite where we considered the shores too gradual to admit of a slide. There are many large nooks in the Mountains, along this part of the River, which are suitable for small settlements.

Fifty miles below the Mission we came to the Cascade Falls. Here the River, compressed into two thirds of its usual width, descends over huge rocks several hundred yards, with an inclination of about five degrees; and from the head to the foot of the Rapids, a distance of four miles, the water descends about fifty feet. From the great agitation of the water, caused by its rushing with such velocity down its rocky channel, the surface of the River, for several hundred yards, is as white as a field of snow. On the South the dark basaltic walls, rising perpendicularly four or five hundred feet, are covered with Pines. There are small islands of rock, both above and below the Falls, many of which are timbered, and huge volcanic fragments cover either shore. Here we were obliged to leave our canoes and carry our baggage nearly four miles, over rocks and hills, to the foot of the Rapids, where we found a bateau, which had been brought up from the Fort for the accommodation of the Emigrants.

We saw, while passing down, on the North side of the River, a large Indian burying place, where the bones of hundreds were heaped together in pens about eight feet square, made of thin Cedar slabs hewn and set upon end in the earth, covered with bark, and ornamented with carved images of birds, beasts, skeletons of men, and imaginary monsters. Some of these pens had rotted down,

and the naked skeletons lay scattered over the ground. We found in one a body not yet decayed, wrapped in a blanket and lying on a board shelf.

The Falls afford one of the best Salmon fisheries in the Territory, and here the Indians take, in the Spring, great quantities of fish. It rained on us during the night we were at the Falls, and, with little intermission, during our passage to Vancouver. Below the Falls on the South side, there is, for several miles, a perpendicular rock bluff, rising from the water five hundred feet, over which several small streams are pouring in beautiful Cascades. The Columbia is broad and deep from the Falls to the Ocean, and the tide runs up to the foot of the Rapids. Twenty miles below the Cascades, the River makes a sudden bend, about a high Mountain point, called Cape Horn. Immediately on the point, there are several spires of solid rock, rising like huge horns, out of the water, from fifty to sixty feet high. Here we were met by a heavy gale of wind, and compelled to run ashore, and remain until the next day. This frequently happens to voyagers, on this part of the River. In one instance a crew of Emigrants were under the necessity of throwing part of their loading overboard in order to gain the shore. A few miles below Cape Horn, the highlands on the South side recede from the River, leaving wide, low bottoms, which generally overflow in the Spring. This low land continues to widen, to the mouth of the Willamette, and extends up that River about eight miles. In this part of the Columbia there are many low Islands.

After a very disagreeable passage, we landed at Fort Vancouver, forty miles below the Cascade Falls. It is situated on the North side of the River, one hundred miles above its mouth. The buildings occupied as stores, warehouses, shops, residences of the agents, men, etc., make quite a village. The ground back for half a mile is level,

and then rises with a gradual inclination until it is elevated several hundred feet above the River. It is set with grass, and makes a very pretty appearance. Vessels drawing fifteen feet water ascend the Columbia this far, without any difficulty. Vancouver is the principal depot of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, West of the Rocky Mountains. Their furs are collected from all parts of the Territory, to this place, and shipped once every year, to England, and the vessel returning, brings annually a cargo of goods, to supply the trade. They keep constantly on hand one year's supply in advance, that if any accident should happen to the vessel, either on her outward or homeward bound passage, the trade might not be interrupted. The Company have some good farms, and several large herds of cattle and hogs in different places. They have an extensive dairy on Sophia's [Sauvie's] Island at the mouth of the Willamette, where they make annually several thousand pounds of butter and cheese, which they send to Sitka, a Russian settlement to the North, with which the Hudson's Bay Company have also a contract to furnish a large amount of wheat yearly. In return for which they are to receive the Russian furs. They likewise furnish the Sandwich Islands with a considerable amount of flour, lumber, spars and fish, for which they receive in return the products of those Southern Islands. The great design of this Company is to trade with the Indians, and take the beaver, but, after this animal, so unfortunate on account of the rich dress which Providence has given it, as a shield against the cold of the North, had become nearly extinct, in the lower valley of the Columbia, and after the settlement of foreigners in the Sandwich Islands, and citizens of the United States in Oregon began to create markets, they extended their operations and began to cultivate the soil, to raise cattle, to build mills, to furnish the

settlers with articles of merchandise, and to trade with foreign ports.

Having obtained a skiff at the Fort, belonging to Oregon City, we went down the River six miles, to the upper mouth of the Willammette. The lower mouth comes into the Columbia twenty miles below, making Sophia's Island. The hills are very high on the West side of the River ; but rise gradually, and are covered with dense forests of Pine. We had but little difficulty in ascending the Willammette, there being not much current until we came within one and a half miles of the Falls, where we found a strong Rapid, at the junction of the Clackamas ; a small, but rapid River, coming in from the East. Here we were obliged to get out into the water, and draw our boat with a cord, several hundred yards.

Having passed these rapids, we arrived, in a few minutes, at Oregon City, situated at the Falls of the Willammette, the place of our destination. This was the 13th of November, 1843, and it was five months and nineteen days after we left Independence, in Missouri. Here we were able to procure such things as were really necessary to make us comfortable ; and, what was most especially pleasing to us, an abundance of substantial food. We enjoyed that plenty which, until now, we had long been strangers to ; and were happy, after a long and tedious tour, over mountains and deserts, through a wild and savage wilderness, to witness, upon these distant shores, the home of Civilization. To see houses, farms, mills, storehouses, shops ; to hear the busy hum of industry ; the noise of the workman's hammer ; the sound of the woodman's axe ; the crash of the falling pines ; and to enjoy the warm welcome of countrymen and friends. How grateful these circumstances were to us, he who had never passed the bounds of Civilization, or forsaken the parental roof, can never know. We had been here but a short time, before the last

of the Emigrants arrived. They were soon scattered over the country. Those who intended to cultivate the soil, laid claims, built cabins, and prepared for the coming winter. Mechanics found employment at the Falls, and those who had no particular occupation or object in view, distributed themselves through the country, taking hold of whatever circumstances offered, or suited their inclinations best. All found enough to do, and there was in the country an abundance of the real necessities of life. Every one seemed satisfied, for a time, with being permitted to have a home and a plentiful subsistence. And notwithstanding many were greatly exposed, during the winter season, all were blessed with excellent health.

Our arrival had a great effect upon the country. The people were beginning to feel lonesome, and to fear that it would be long before these far distant wilds of Western America would be settled. Property was of doubtful value, and their once high anticipations were fading away. They had heard reports from the Indians, of the approach of a great number of white people; but the reports were disbelieved, and we were our own heralds; for, not until we arrived, were they convinced of our coming. Instantly every thing revived; improvements went rapidly on, and the expectations of the people were again excited. We found, at the Falls, a small village of about one hundred inhabitants. Lots were laid out on both sides of the River; those on the East side, by Dr. McLaughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, West of the Mountains, and called Oregon City; those on the West, by H. Burns, and called Multnomah.

THE QUARTERLY

of the

Oregon Historical Society.

VOLUME VII.]

JUNE, 1906.

[NUMBER 2

THE GENESIS OF THE OREGON RAIL- WAY SYSTEM.

By JOSEPH GASTON.

It is not intended in this first paper to present a complete history of the railroad development of the State, but rather to outline the events which, following each other in a natural and evolutionary way have in spite of the opposition and mismanagement of men in control, resulted in a railroad system which is entitled to the name of "The Oregon System." And if it may appear to some readers that small details are treated of in the beginning of the great work, yet that possibly may be excused as being quite as interesting to the student of history as the much larger events of a later day. And although this system, now apparently divided by the line of the great river of the West, the work of many opposing interests and diverse minds is yet forced by the decrees of nature to work towards one general end and purpose, and so promoting the vast interest of commerce and transportation, that the welfare of the teeming millions that are to fill up the great Northwest will be benefited thereby.

The first steps to build a railroad in the State of Oregon, followed up by connected and continuous efforts and organization, were taken at Jacksonville in Jackson County in October, 1863. Sporadic meetings had been held and

corporations formed prior to that time in several places in the Willamette Valley proposing to build railways, but nothing had resulted but talk not worth recording. That the first substantial effort to develop the State by railroad transportation should have taken form at a small interior town three hundred miles from a reliable seaport is quite remarkable, but not unreasonable. Jacksonville was the county seat and trade center of the beautiful Rogue River Valley which has been more benefited by railroad transportation than any other community between the Columbia River and San Francisco Bay. Steamboats could run up the Sacramento River one hundred and fifty miles from San Francisco; and other boats could get up the Willamette River one hundred and twenty-five miles from the ship landing to Eugene, and teams, pack trains, and stage lines could serve a limited trade and population in all the region on the north and south route between these river-boat termini. But limited to these pioneer transportation facilities the trade and population of all this region must forever stand still. There are in what is known as "The Rogue River Valley," of which Jacksonville, Ashland, Talent, Medford, and Gold Hill are trading points, about a million and a quarter acres of fine agricultural, timber, mineral and grazing lands, and of which in 1863 not more than one tenth had been taken up by actual settlers. The pioneer farmers saw the necessity and the immense benefits to be gained from a railroad which should pass through their valley from Portland to San Francisco, and resolved, although poor in purse, to make the best effort they could to secure such a road.

In the spring of 1863 S. G. Elliott, of California, had arranged with George A. Belding, a civil engineer, of Portland, Oregon, to make an instrumental survey for a line of railroad from Marysville to Portland, on their joint account. They commenced their work at Marysville

in California in May and reached Jacksonville in October. Before reaching Jacksonville they had sent forward a letter to the writer of this paper, then residing at Jacksonville, requesting him to canvass Jackson County for aid in paying the expenses of their survey, which work he performed. Upon reaching Jacksonville, Elliot and Belding disagreed as to which of them should have control of the line of survey through Oregon; Mr. Belding claiming that under their agreement he should select the route, and Mr. Elliot as stoutly claiming that as chief of the party and the original proposer of the undertaking he was entitled to such control. But the question which proved fatal to the ambition of both gentlemen was the fact that their party of twelve men had received no pay for six months and there was nothing in the treasury to further subsist the men and teams. The whole party was stranded and their proposed railroad venture wrecked. Mr. Elliot left the party in possession of all its equipment and returned south to California, and Mr. Belding also left and proceeded to his home in Portland, and this ended the connection of both gentlemen with this preliminary survey.

The subscriptions in aid of this first work on an Oregon railroad (not considering mere portages on the Columbia), and the first money expended in the actual construction of such road, followed up by connected and continuous work until the road was in operation, were contributed by the following named persons: C. Boxlery, John Robison, D. E. Stearns, G. Naylor, John Holton, M. Michelson, R. B. Hargadine, E. Emery, Lindsay Applegate, O. C. Applegate, John Murphy, J. C. Tolman, P. Dunn, H. F. Baren, Enoch Walker, Wagner & McCall, B. F. Myer, W. C. Myer, W. Beeson, J. G. Van Dyke, John S. Herrin, Amos E. Rogers, John Watson, Emerson E. Gore, M. Riggs, William Wright, Frederick Heber, S. B. Vandike, John Coleman, Joseph A. Crain, J. T. Glenn, Wm. Hesse, W. K. Ish, H. A.

Breitbarth, McLaughlin & Klippel, W. H. S. Hyde, John E. Ross, Aaron Chambers, Mike Handly, Granville Sears, R. S. Belknap, U. S. Hayden, John Neuber, H. Ammerman, Beall & Brother, Wm. H. Herriman, Haskell Amy, Alexander French, Albert Bellinger, James Thornton, Woodford Reames, E. K. Anderson, D. P. Anderson, Joshua Patterson, D. P. Brittain, J. V. Ammerman, Plymale & Bros., and Joseph Gaston, all residents of Jackson County.

Upon consultation with the above subscribers to this fund the writer of this paper was appointed agent to collect and disburse the money subscribed by these men in subsisting the surveying party until May, 1864, and to procure further subscriptions along the proposed line to continue the survey north to the City of Portland, and to organize a company and apply to Congress for a grant of land in aid of the construction of a railroad from the Columbia River to San Francisco, passing through the Willamette, Umpqua, and Rogue River valleys; and in pursuance of this authority this original subscription of money in aid of such railroad was collected, the surveying party subsisted in Jacksonville until May, 1864, when it again took up the line of survey where Elliot and Belding had abandoned it, and under the supervision of Col. A. C. Barry it was extended to Portland, which point was reached on October 1, 1864. To carry on the business part of the undertaking and present the proposition to Congress a company was organized under the name of "The California and Columbia River Railroad Company," and of which J. Gaston was made secretary, and A. C. Barry, chief engineer. The results of this survey were then (October, 1864,) laid before the Oregon legislature, then in session, and a bill, prepared by the secretary of the company, was introduced in the Senate (S. B. No. 14), which provided for granting to a railroad to be con-

structed through the Willamette, Umpqua, and Rogue River valleys, the proceeds of the half-million acres of public lands granted to Oregon for internal improvements. This bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Corporations, which reported the proposition back by recommending the passage of an act to levy a tax of one mill on the dollar on all the taxable property in the State, and apply the proceeds of such tax to the payment of the interest on the construction bonds of a company to build the proposed road. The bill became a law, but was never utilized.

Immediately following the legislature Colonel Barry prepared a report of his survey, with maps and profiles of the line, which, together with a report on the Resources of Oregon (the first ever made), prepared by the secretary of the company, was laid before Congress at the opening of the session in December, 1864. Prior to this in the winter of 1863-4 Hon. C. Cole, M. C., from California, had introduced in the House a bill granting lands to the California and Oregon Railroad Company to aid in building a railroad from the Central Pacific Railroad in California, through the Sacramento and Shasta valleys to the northern boundary of the State of California, and to such company as the Oregon legislature should designate from Portland, Oregon, through the Willamette, Umpqua, and Rogue River valleys to a connection with the said California road at or near the State line. On being apprised of the work going forward in Oregon in aid of this enterprise Mr. Cole addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Oregon company:

“WASHINGTON, Oct. 15, '64.

J. GASTON, Esq.,

SIR: I have just received a letter from you of June 30th. I think I sent you a copy of my Bill before the adjournment. If your Oregon Company is organized it had better be named in the Bill before it passes.

I will consult with Mr. McBride.

Your obt. servant,

C. COLE.”

Mr. McBride referred to was the Oregon member of Congress. The name of the then Oregon company was never inserted in the bill, which passed Congress and became a law on July 25, 1866, and granted twenty alternate sections of public land per mile of the railroad which has been constructed thereunder from Portland to the California line.

I have been thus particular to trace the original connected and successive steps in projecting and carrying out a great public work, to show that the Jackson County people were entitled to the credit of giving it birth, and to show how the wisdom of the original location of the line was vindicated by the actual construction of the road. In seeking the best line for a railway between two distant points, all other inducements being equal, the line of location, like all other forward movements of human effort, will proceed along the line of the least resistance. Two facts determined the location of this Oregon and California railroad. First, the line of least resistance. The physical features of the region to be developed offered a series of beautiful valleys, rich in all the resources to support a railroad, and so located as to form nearly the shortest line between the termini of the road, and through which it could be constructed centrally through the greatest length of these valleys, and at the lowest cost, and serving the majority of population and interests. Second, here on this line had settled the population of the two States, and made the then existing development of their resources, and upon which the road must rely for its support.

It was not the only available, or the only line proposed, as many persons might now think. The line of the first transcontinental road had been projected to San Francisco when the first steps to secure this Oregon and California line were taken, and connection with the transcontinental

line was one of the moving factors to induce action for a connection with Oregon. But the Oregonians were not unanimous as to the best route. Mr. B. J. Pengra, the Surveyor General of Oregon, and a very able and enterprising man and the successful promoter of the Oregon Central Military Wagon Road, with a land grant running from Eugene to the southeast corner of the State, together with a large following of wealthy and influential men, was actively advocating a line for an Oregon railroad connection with the Central Pacific road, called the "Humboldt Route," which should run from the City of Portland to Eugene City, thence southeast by the middle fork of the Willamette River and over the Cascade Mountains, near Diamond Peak, and thence by Klamath marsh and lake on to Winnemucca on the Central Pacific Railroad in the State of Nevada. And had Pengra been supported by as much political influence as southern Oregon was able to command he might possibly have defeated the location through the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys and secured the land grant to the line of his wagon road.

THE LAND GRANT.

We pass now from the history of the location of the line to the administration of the land grant. The Oregon legislature met in September, 1866, six weeks after Congress granted the lands in aid of the road. It was decided to abandon the original organization which had so far promoted the enterprise, and accordingly the writer of this paper prepared articles for the incorporation of "The Oregon Central Railroad Company," the office and headquarters of which should be at Portland, Oregon. These articles were signed by J. S. Smith (member of Congress for Oregon in 1870), I. R. Moores, John H. Mitchell (for twenty-two years United States senator for Oregon), E. D. Shattuck (for thirty years justice of the supreme and cir-

cuit courts of Oregon), Col. John McCracken, Jesse Applegate, S. Ellsworth, F. A. Chenoweth, Joel Palmer, E. R. Geary, M. M. Melvin, Thomas H. Cox, B. F. Brown, W. S. Ladd (founder of Ladd & Tilton), H. W. Corbett (United States senator). S. G. Reed (founder of the Reed Industrial School), J. C. Ainsworth (founder of The Oregon Steam Navigation Company), C. H. Lewis (founder of Allen & Lewis), R. R. Thompson, and Joseph Gaston, the author of this paper. These articles were filed according to law and the association of these persons became a private corporation to administer the land grant on October 6, 1866. These articles were laid before both houses of the Oregon legislature, then in session, and on October 10th, upon the motion of Hon. E. D. Foudray, representative from Jackson County, Joint Resolution No. 13, designating said corporation to receive the said land grant, was passed. And in December following fourteen of the incorporators of said company appointed Joseph Gaston "Secretary of the Board of Incorporators," and authorized him to open the stock books of the company and solicit subscriptions to its capital stock. In pursuance of this authority in April, 1867, he opened stock books and took subscriptions to the capital stock, the subscribers to the "Barry Survey" to have their subscriptions credited on stock subscriptions, and providing that whichever side of the Willamette Valley should make the greatest subscription to the capital stock would secure the location of the railroad. Persons on the east side of the Willamette River, notably, I. R. Moores and others, at Salem, opposed this proposition because it recognized the "Barry Survey"; and in consequence the people of the east side of the Willamette Valley made no subscriptions to the stock of the company, while the people of the west side made large subscriptions, and thereby secured the location of the road on the west side

of the Willamette River, where it is now constructed from Portland to Corvallis.

THE ADVENT OF ELLIOT.

About this time appeared Mr. S. G. Elliot of California, referred to above. Mr. Elliot had been a county surveyor, and was a man of great energy and ambition, but was not a civil engineer or constructor of railroads, and was not troubled with any scruples about plans or methods of business. He had a large scheme for the construction of this Oregon railroad, and at once laid it before I. R. Moores and others of Salem. His scheme was to get control of the company already incorporated, and, in default of that, to organize a new company which should execute a power of attorney to S. G. Elliot authorizing him to let a contract to build a railroad to the California line, and that such company should issue two million dollars of unassessable stock to certain Californians for their good will in the matter, and then these Californians would transfer back to the Oregonians getting up this company one million dollars of the unassessable stock for their services in organizing the company. Gaston was invited to go into this scheme and offered an office in such new company and some unassessable stock if he would throw away the papers of the original company. This he declined, but offered to submit their scheme to the incorporators of the Oregon Central Company and if they approved, Mr. Elliot could use their organization to advance his scheme. But upon submitting the Elliot scheme to the incorporators supporting Gaston, every one of them opposed it. Accordingly, Elliot and his Salem friends, on April 22, 1867, incorporated the Oregon Central Railroad Company of Salem, the incorporators being S. A. Clarke, John H. Moores, George L. Woods, and I. R. Moores. The articles of incorporation of this company provided for a capital

stock of \$7,250,000, to which six persons subscribed each \$100, and thereupon elected George L. Woods chairman of the stockholders' meeting, and then at such meeting passed a resolution authorizing the chairman to subscribe \$7,000,000 to the stock of the company, as follows: "Oregon Central Railroad Company by George L. Woods, Chairman, 70,000 shares—\$7,000,000." Upon this fictitious subscription the company was organized by electing a board of directors and George L. Woods (then Governor of Oregon) as president, and S. A. Clarke, secretary. And upon this organization the Salem company located its road upon the east side of the Willamette River, secured some local donations, some aid from James B. Stevens, proprietor of the then East Portland townsite, and induced Bernard Goldsmith, of Portland, to advance \$20,000 on the bonds of the company, and commenced the work of constructing their road. I am thus particular in setting out these facts to show how the railroad was located on the east side of the Willamette Valley.

Mr. Elliot's financiering, however, did not carry the enterprise very far. The \$2,000,000 of seven per cent unassessable stock in the company was issued to A. J. Cook & Co. (fictitious name for Elliot) under an agreement that \$1,000,000 of it should be given to the directors of the Salem company, and this stock for the directors was deposited in the safe of E. N. Cook and lay there for two years and until the company ceased to exist. But that stock brought no aid or comfort to the company or its directors. Goldsmith's money was all spent, the laborers on the grade were clamoring for back pay, and Elliot's scheme was on the verge of collapse when in very desperation the whole scheme, with all its hopes, assets, and great expectations, was turned over to Ben Holladay.

HOLLADAY, AND THE LAND GRANT CONTEST.

Holladay appeared in Oregon about six weeks before the meeting of the legislature in September, 1868, and took energetic steps to attack the rights of the corporation first named above to its land grant. With ready cash Holladay pushed the work of construction on the east side grade, subsidized newspapers to advocate his cause and sing his praises, bought up politicians on all sides to do his bidding, and treated with imperious contempt the rights of all who dared to question his career. At the ensuing session of the legislature he appeared at Salem as the host of a large establishment, dispensing free "meats and drinks" to all comers, and otherwise equipped with all the elements of vice and dissipation. Joined with and a part of this force, was the first hired and organized band of lobbyists in the history of the Oregon legislature. And so energetic and successful was the battle they waged, that on October 20, 1868, the legislature passed a joint resolution declaring that the act of the previous legislature was made in mistake, that the designation of the company to receive the land grant was still to be made, and that The Oregon Central Railroad Company of Salem be designated to receive such grant. This was done in the face of all the facts stated above, fully presented to the legislature, and of the further facts that the first named company had filed its acceptance of the land grant in the Department of the Interior according to the act and within the time provided, which acceptance had been accepted by the Secretary of the Interior, and the time had passed by within which any company could file another acceptance of the grant. Such a high-handed outrage was probably never enacted before in any State, and was accomplished in Oregon only, as Holladay after-

wards admitted to the author of this paper at a cost to him of \$35,000.

Thus securing this act of the legislature in his favor, Holladay continued to push the work of construction on the grade, and sent agents to Washington to get an act through Congress enabling his Salem company to file its acceptance of the land grant act. Congress finally, on April 16, 1869, passed an act extending the time for filing acceptance of the land grant act and providing that whichever of the two companies should first complete and put in operation twenty miles of railroad from Portland southward into the Willamette Valley should be entitled to file such acceptance of grant. Holladay continued to push construction work with all his available means until in December, 1868, he had in a very cheap and imperfect manner completed and put in operation, with one engine and a car or two, twenty miles of railroad, and was thereby recognized as entitled to the land grant.

But notwithstanding this hard earned success Holladay was now face to face with a state of facts that would have paralyzed a less reckless and unscrupulous operator. It had become everywhere understood and admitted that the Salem Oregon Central Railroad Company was not a corporation and had no legal existence, and for that reason could not appropriate the right of way in any case where the landholder refused it, or enforce any other right of a corporation. The Supreme Court of Oregon afterwards decided that the Salem company was not a corporation, but a mere nullity and fraud, that it had no legal rights and could not take the land grant, and that the act of the legislature of 1868 could not heal its defects. (See the case of *Elliot v. Holladay et al.*, p. 91, Vol. 8 of Oregon Reports.) And besides this the west side company had finally forced the Salem company to stand trial before Justice M. P. Deady, of the United States District Court

as to its right to its corporate name, and the court had held that one corporation could not take and use the name of a prior organized company. This of itself was a death blow to the Salem company. (See Deady's Reports, p. 609.) In this crisis of his Oregon venture Holladay turned the whole matter over to the great lawyer, W. M. Evarts, who was Secretary of State to President Hayes. After many months of study Mr. Evarts decided that the franchise to exercise corporate rights was a grant from the State and could be questioned only by the State, and not having been so questioned the Salem company was at liberty to transfer any and all rights and franchises it was assuming to own. And that as the land grant was a concession from the Federal Government the right thereto could be disputed only by the grantor, and not having been so questioned the franchise to take such grant could be also assigned and transferred by the Salem company; and that the next step for Mr. Holladay was to lawfully organize a new Oregon corporation to take over all the rights, property, and franchises of the Salem company, and have the Salem company make such transfer. For this opinion Holladay paid Evarts \$25,000; and immediately thereafter (1870) incorporated and organized The Oregon and California Railroad Company, to which all the assets of the Salem company were conveyed. After thus clearing up the wreckage of the fictitious corporation, and burying as best he could the scandals which disgraced the lives and ruined the political fortunes of more men in Oregon than all other events in the history of the State, Holladay sold in Germany ten and a half million dollars of bonds upon the land grant and the road to be constructed. Applied at the rate of \$30,000 per mile of road, these bonds were estimated to build three hundred and fifty miles, or practically to the California line. But by Holladay's reckless, if not dishonest management,

not more than fifty-seven cents on the dollar of the bonds ever went into the construction of the road; so that by the time the track had reached Roseburg from Portland the proceeds of the bonds were exhausted, and Roseburg remained the southern terminus of the road for ten years. Then a reorganization took place, the holders of the bonds surrendering their securities for preferred stock, and advancing more money on a new mortgage to extend the road to Ashland in Jackson County. Here the track stood still for seven years; and another reorganization took place, the old bondholders refunding their second issue of bonds in new bonds bearing a still lower rate of interest, and the Southern Pacific Company advancing the capital to finally connect Oregon and California with the present existing road, in the year 1887, making nineteen years from the time construction work commenced until the road reached the California line. Holladay, proving wholly incapable of managing the property, was forced out of its control by the bondholders in 1876, and Mr. Henry Villard put in control; and under Villard, as immediate and responsible manager of the property, a young man from Germany (Richard Koehler) of whom we shall have more to say further along.

Ben Holladay was born and raised near Blue Licks, Kentucky. Emigrating to Missouri in 1856 he became a hanger-on to the army at Fort Leavenworth, and drifted into various camp-follower speculations for several years until in 1860 when the civil war broke out he was operating a buckboard mail and stage line from St. Joseph, Mo., to Salt Lake City. About this time the great army transportation firm of Russell, Majors & Waddle fell into financial trouble and in order to tide over their affairs and force a cheap settlement with their creditors, as related to the author of this paper by Mr. Russell himself, the firm delivered to Holladay, as their friend, \$600,000 of

government vouchers for transportation the firm had rendered, under the agreement that when they had settled with their creditors Holladay should return to them the \$600,000. Holladay took the vouchers, collected the money, and when requested to return it to the confiding firm he repudiated not only the agreement to do so, but all knowledge of the transaction. As it was an unlawful act of the failing debtor he could not recover, and so, not only Russell, Majors & Waddle lost the vast sum of money but their creditors had been beaten by both the debtors and their deceiver, Ben Holladay. On this plunder Holladay came to the Pacific Coast, bought the line of ships to Oregon and got into the Oregon railroad. He was a man of splendid physique, fine address, and knew well how to manage the average human nature. He was energetic, untiring, unconscionable, unscrupulous, and wholly destitute of fixed principles of honesty, morality, or common decency.

THE WEST SIDE ROAD.

Returning now to the Oregon Central Company we find it in 1869 robbed of the land grant which it was justly entitled to, but not wholly driven out of the field. The citizens of Portland, Washington, Yamhill, and Polk counties stood loyally by the old company, and not only gave financial aid to the extent of grading and bridging the first twenty miles of its roadbed, but also threw into the scale the weight of their political influence, declaring that no man should represent Oregon in Congress who would not labor to secure another grant of land in aid of their road. With this support I spent the winter of 1869 and '70 at Washington City and secured from Congress a grant of twenty sections of land per mile in aid of the construction of a railroad from Portland to McMinnville, with a branch from the line at Forest Grove through the Nehalem

Valley to Astoria. This was not what was desired, but it was the best that could be secured at that time. And in the partition of Oregon local interests then seeking recognition at Washington City, it was agreed by the Oregon delegation in Congress that at the next session of Congress this grant should be extended from McMinnville to Eugene. And upon this basis it was further agreed that Mr. B. J. Pengra, of Eugene, then also at Washington, and representing the proposed railroad from Winnemucca to Eugene (incorporated as "Oregon Branch Pacific Railroad,") should also have a grant of lands for his company. This scheme carried out would give a continuous land grant from the Central Pacific Railroad in Nevada, to Eugene, and Portland and Astoria. And upon this foundation, C. P. Huntington, then in the zenith of his power as a railroad financier and constructor, agreed to furnish the capital and build the railroad from Winnemucca to Eugene, Portland and Astoria, giving Oregon a more direct connection to the East than by the California route. This scheme was defeated by Ben Holladay, then also at Washington, who within ten days after Congress passed the Oregon Central grant to McMinnville, induced Senator Williams to amend the Pengra bill by providing that the Winnemucca road should connect with the Holladay line at a point in the Rogue River Valley. This provision would of course prevent all connection with the McMinnville line, and give Holladay control of all roads from the Rogue River Valley to Portland. Holladay was quick to see that the Pengra bill would bring to Oregon a giant in energy and ability who would dwarf his own pretensions and soon drive him from the field, and with a selfishness and vanity which knew no limits, he demanded the sacrifice of the interests of the State and the ruin of the man who was willing to befriend him. Upon this change being made in the Winnemucca bill Mr. Huntington

promptly withdrew from his offer to finance the road, and the whole scheme to get another road into Oregon through the Klamath lake region failed. Had not the Winnemucca (Oregon Branch Pacific) proposition been thus emasculated southeastern Oregon, the Nehalem Valley, and Astoria would have had practically a transcontinental railroad more than thirty years ago, and Eugene would have been the junction of two great lines. But for this the Midas touch of Huntington would have made the southeastern Oregon plains and the Nehalem wilderness prosperous and populous with a commerce and population equal to anything on the Pacific Coast, and Astoria would have had a population of 50,000. Driven from this opportunity which Huntington himself sought, he turned his attention to Arizona and Mexico, and gave to the arid deserts of the South the wealth which should have been the reward of Oregon enterprise. It was the most damaging blow to the growth of the State which Oregon ever suffered; for it not only deprived the State of a great railroad and its consequent development, but it wrecked the political career of its greatest man—the man who was beyond all question the greatest statesman, most brilliant orator and profound lawyer which the Pacific Coast ever sent to the United States—and deprived the State of his eminent abilities.

Upon this land grant to the Oregon Central Company, and upon one million dollars construction bonds thereon, English capitalists advanced a million dollars to build the road from Portland to the Yamhill River, where it stood still for ten years at the Holladay town of St. Joe. The same capitalists were induced by Mr. Villard to advance further capital to extend the road from St. Joe (long since deserted) to McMinnville and Corvallis, the present terminus. In the work of building this west side road the citizens of Portland contributed in cash and lands \$150,000,

the people of Washington County \$25,000, and the people of Yamhill County about \$20,000.

THE WORK OF VILLARD.

The coming of Henry Villard to Oregon in 1874 was the fact of largest importance to the development of the Northwest. Mr. Villard had been by his friends in Germany placed in charge of their interests in the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and had proved so faithful and capable in managing his trust that when similar investments in Oregon had been jeopardized by Ben Holladay he was sent here to make a report and right all wrongs. On his first visit to Oregon I accompanied him on a trip throughout the Willamette Valley and discovered that he had thoughts, if not plans, for a field of action far beyond the confines of the State. Quickly getting under his full control the existing Oregon roads, he went straight at the work of his vast plan of an Oregon railroad system having a transcontinental power and influence. And as one step rapidly followed another in the unfolding of his scheme, it was seen that Henry Villard was not an ordinary railroad promoter, but a veritable empire builder. His genius for grand plans of developing great States was fully equaled by his ability to raise the means to successfully carry them into effect.

Upon the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad to Salt Lake, that interest had sent surveying parties to look out a route for the extension of their road to Oregon. That exploration, made in the year 1868, was known as "the Hudnutt survey." An Oregon man, Col. W. W. Chapman, one of the founders of the City of Portland, took up and exploited the idea of a "Portland, Dalles & Salt Lake Railroad," on the route proposed by Hudnutt. Colonel Chapman worked upon this scheme from 1870 to 1876, attending the sessions of Congress in each year and vainly

urging Congress to transfer to his company the unused land grant of the Northern Pacific Railroad from the mouth of the Snake River to Portland. Chapman did a vast amount of work on this proposition, getting rights of way and accumulating facts showing the value, resources, and importance of the route, and may be justly considered the pioneer of the road subsequently built on the route. The want of financial support and the infirmities of age compelled Chapman to abandon the enterprise, but not until the time was auspicious for Henry Villard to take it up in 1879.

Mr. Villard visited Oregon first in 1874, again in 1876, and again in 1878. He was greatly impressed and pleased with the country from the first visit, and had made arrangements to bring his family and settle permanently in Portland. He had from the first been deeply interested in developing the country and had made careful investigation of its resources, and of the tributary regions; so much so that on his visit in 1878 he inquired of Capt. J. C. Ainsworth, president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, whether his stockholders would be willing to dispose of that company's property. To this proposal Ainsworth replied by handing Villard an inventory and appraisal of the company's boats and portage railways on the Columbia River, aggregating \$3,320,000, with an offer to sell the entire property at \$5,000,000. The property probably had never cost more than half the appraisal, but as it was paying twelve per cent dividend on \$5,000,000, Villard thought he made a good bargain when he induced the Ainsworth stockholders to give him an option to purchase their property at \$4,000,000, one half cash and the balance in bonds and stocks in a new company to be organized. For this option for six months Villard paid Ainsworth \$100,000 in cash, and then immediately returned to New York to finance the deal and carry out the

first move in his great scheme of concentrating the trade of all the region west of the Rocky Mountains and north of California at Portland, Oregon. He presented the proposition first to Jay Gould and other large stockholders in the Union Pacific Railroad, with a view to constructing a branch of the Union Pacific from Salt Lake to Portland on the Chapman route. After considering this for months the Gould party declined to go into the scheme, and Villard at once organized the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, raised the money to take up the Ainsworth option, and immediately commenced the construction of the road eastwardly from Portland. To this bold movement of Villard, wholly unexpected by the Union Pacific people, they promptly replied by organizing the Oregon Short Line Company, to build a road from the Union Pacific line to the Columbia River, and at once commenced construction. Villard had thrown down a challenge for possession of the Short Line route, it had been promptly accepted, and now the race was on as to see which of these parties should win the game. It was the first great test of Henry Villard's ability as a financier. He was opposed by Gould, Morgan, and some of the ablest and wealthiest capitalists in the world, and yet his talents and energy were such that he pushed his road eastwardly with such force and rapidity as to meet his rivals at Huntington, near the eastern boundary of the State, and effectually hold his chosen field of enterprise.

But brilliant in conception and rapid in construction as had been the great road to control the Columbia River Valley, Mr. Villard had in his fertile brain a still greater scheme of finance and development to astonish the railroad world. The Northern Pacific Railway, with the largest bounty of public lands ever granted in aid of the construction of any road, had been making but a snail's pace in spanning the continent with money raised on

piecemeal mortgages at high rates of interest. The line from Portland to Tacoma had been built, and the eastern division of the road pushed west to the crossing of the Missouri, and some work done on a section from the Columbia towards Spokane. The outlook was ominous. In the hands of a more energetic management Villard could foresee that his grand scheme of an Oregon system might be crippled, and so, maturing his plans he made the great venture of his career. Quietly ascertaining the amount of money necessary to secure a controlling interest in the Northern Pacific Company he addressed a circular (May 15, 1881,) to his financial friends asking for the temporary loan of \$8,000,000 for a purpose not named, "and no questions to be asked," assuring his friends that in due time he would account to them for the money intrusted to him with such profits as would be satisfactory. Such a proposition was unheard of in the world of finance. It was appalling, audacious. But nevertheless the money was promptly given him. And this was the formation of the historic "blind pool" to control the Northern Pacific Railroad, never attempted before and never repeated since.

With this \$8,000,000 Villard purchased a controlling interest in the Northern Pacific, got control in June, 1881, and was elected president in September. He immediately started an army of men to complete the great work. J. L. Hallett, of Washington County, was superintendent of construction on the west end, Hans Thielsen of Portland, chief engineer, and the work was pushed with such force and vigor that an observer might have supposed that the entire army of the United States was pushing construction of a military work in time of a great war. It was the supreme test of Villard's mental and physical strength. He was at that time president of the Northern Pacific, the Oregon Railway & Navigation Co., the Oregon Steam Navigation Co., and the Oregon & California Co.,

and was raising the money for and pushing construction work on all these lines. But he proved his matchless ability by successfully carrying out these great enterprises, and on September 8, 1883, completing the Northern Pacific across the continent and connecting its steel bands with those of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company at the long since abandoned town of Ainsworth on the north side of Snake River just above its confluence with the Columbia. And thus was planned and formed what I have named "The Oregon Railroad System." How long Villard was considering this idea I have no means of stating. He doubtless mentioned it to others, but the first time I heard of it was at the dinner table of the late Senator Nesmith, at his farm on the La Creole in Polk County in 1874, while I was accompanying Villard on a trip of observation through the Willamette Valley. The grand conception was his in origin and execution; and although hampered by doubters and opposed by powerful enemies he triumphed over all obstacles and made its success the most enduring monument of his fame as one of the most forceful characters and honorable men of his day and generation. The people of Oregon have but slightly comprehended and do yet but little appreciate the great work he wrought for the State. He planned his work upon "the lines of the least resistance"; he worked in harmony with the laws of nature and upon plans laid down by the great architect of our planet; and his record and his work is invincible. And now, after spending years of effort and millions of money to reverse the plans of Villard and carry the trade of the "Inland Empire" over the Cascades to Puget Sound the great capitalists of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern roads are forced to admit the correctness of Villard's plans and expend ten million dollars to rectify the blunder of opposing them. It was the keen foresight of Henry Villard that

saw in the distance all the local wealth and productions, trade and population of the empire lying west of the Rocky Mountains from the California line to British Columbia, and all the transcontinental commerce between the same lines pouring its tribute for all time to come down easy grades through the Columbia gateway to a great city to be built at the junction of the Willamette and Columbia; and now, not one road but four are vying with each other to utilize this water-level pass to the great Pacific and the still greater Orient.

Henry Villard was born in 1835 of an honorable and influential family in Speyer, kingdom of Bavaria, Germany. In the revolution of 1849 his father was a loyalist, and the presiding judge of an important court. Young Villard was at school at the Gymnasium, wore a red feather in his cap and refused to pray for the king. For this offense he was suspended and managed to get out of his youthful disloyalty by going to a school over in France. Subsequently pardoned, he returned and completed his studies at the University of Munich. He came to the United States in 1853, tarried with relatives near Belleville, Ill., for a year, then drifted into journalism, became a war correspondent in the civil war, made friends with influential people, attracted attention by his ability and genial manners, made some money in speculations, went back to Germany on a visit and made the financial friends at Frankfort, who afterwards employed him to look after their interests in investments in America, and put him on the highway to his great success. He was a man of most engaging and genial manners, with nothing of the hard selfishness or avaricious grasp of the typical rich man. No man was more considerate or generous in praise and assistance to those who worked with or under him or whose work he had made use of. In the days of his prosperity his purse was open wide to all works of charity and benev-

olence, chief of which in Oregon was \$50,000 to the State University for an irreducible fund at least \$400 of the interest from which to be used annually in the purchase of books for the University library. He gave a like sum to house the orphan children at Portland. No act of littleness, meanness, oppression, injustice, or dishonor ever stained the escutcheon of his noble career; and he sleeps well on the banks of the Hudson.

BRANCH ROADS.

This paper might properly end here were it not that others have done good work in building branch lines to complete the grand scheme planned by Villard; and which it seems the facts of history require to be recorded in this connection. The principal of these was the narrow gauge system projected by the writer of this paper in 1878 to more completely develop the Willamette Valley. In that year he built the first forty miles of three feet gauge railroad in the State, from Dayton to Sheridan in the Yamhill Valley, with a branch to Dallas in Polk County. In 1880 this road was sold to capitalists in Dundee, Scotland, who, through their agent in Oregon, Wm. Reid, of Portland, extended the lines on the west side of the Willamette River to Airlie in Polk County, and to Dundee, Yamhill County, with an east side of the river branch from Dundee crossing the river at Ray's Landing, thence to Woodburn, Silverton, Scio, and on to Coburg in Lane County. Mr. Villard leased this system (about 200 miles) in 1880; and Mr. Reid on his own capital subsequently extended the line from Dundee to Portland via Newberg; and the whole road thus built was soon after incorporated in the standard gauge system of the Willamette Valley.

Another important branch is the Columbia Southern, traversing Sherman County and built by Mr. Lytle and others from Biggs on the Columbia to Shaniko, seventy

miles south. This, too, has been incorporated in the O. R. & N. system.

Of independent roads, which are also in effect feeder lines to this Oregon system, may be mentioned the Sumpter Valley road, built by Messrs. Eccles and Nibley of Utah, from Baker City to the mining town of Sumpter and southwest towards Burns, now aggregating nearly fifty miles of track. This road was organized in 1890. The same parties have within the past year built eighteen miles of a new road running up the Hood River Valley from the town of Hood River, and called The Mt. Hood Railroad. Another important independent line is the Rogue River Valley road running from Jacksonville to Medford, and from there proposed to extend to Crater Lake, and on this line develop the largest tract of sugar pine timber in the United States. This enterprise was started in 1891 by Mr. E. J. DeHart of Medford, and Wm. Honeyman of Portland. Another important independent line is what has been called successively, The Willamette Valley & Coast, "The Oregon Pacific," and The Corvallis & Eastern Railroad, running from Yaquina, on the bay of that name, eastwardly via Corvallis and Albany to Idanha in the Cascade Mountains. This road has had a checkered career. Commenced in 1880 by public spirited citizens of Corvallis and Benton County, who first and last put about \$100,000 of hard cash and labor into its construction. It was turned over to one T. Egerton Hogg, a promoter of great promise and little performance, who reorganized the scheme into its second name and issued \$15,000,000 in bonds and \$18,000,000 in stock on one hundred and forty miles of road and then failed and died, leaving his bankrupt road to be sold for \$100,000 to its present owner, A. B. Hammond. It has from the first been such a "misfit" that neither the genius of Villard, the energy of Huntington, nor the comprehensive mind of Harriman have been able to assign to it a practical and

profitable place in the Oregon system. It is now doing a large business in hauling lumber and must sooner or later find a useful and necessary purpose in the development of the country.

THE WORK OF MR. KOEHLER.

Besides these independent lines the work of development by branches, feeders, and extensions of the main system, has been going on steadily for years, as population and business would justify. Many such additions have been added to the lines east of the Cascades, as well as in the Willamette Valley, showing the purpose to cover the whole territory of the Columbia River water shed with a network of branch line roads. The most notable of this work is that carried out by Mr. Richard Koehler, who has held the reins as general manager of the Oregon & California road for thirty-two years. Under his management over four hundred miles of track have been added to the railroad mileage in the Willamette Valley and Southern Oregon. And in addition to this the roads under his supervision have been entirely rebuilt with new steel rails, new bridges, expensive embankment fills, reduction of grades and straightening of track. In this work Mr. Koehler has disbursed for his employers many millions of dollars, and in every way more than doubled the value of the property under his care, not only to its owners but also to the farmers and business men along the line. Such a long term of service as this in one position of such power and responsibility shows with what fidelity Richard Koehler has discharged his responsible duties to his clients and the people. Taking hold of the property when it had been practically wrecked by Holladay, and when it paid nothing to its owners, he has been compelled to discharge the onerous and thankless duties of watching every detail of operation, service, expenditure, construction, and

economy in all departments for all these long years, and finally make the roads a self-sustaining, profit earning, valuable property to its owners and to the country. The patience, trials, and ability to accomplish this end has been but little understood and recognized, although a work of as much value to the country as the more noticeable work of projecting new lines.

E. H. HARRIMAN.

A brief notice of the Napoleonic figure of Edward H. Harriman seems necessary in closing this paper. He comes into the railroad battlefield after all the great lines which he now controls had been located and constructed. "The Oregon System" was here before his name had ever been mentioned in connection with any of these lines. His work so far has been to improve and perfect the lines already constructed. In this he stops at no trifles and spares no expense. The stupendous job of running the Union Pacific straight across the north arm of Great Salt Lake, and saving fifty-three miles of track and dangerous mountain grades, is a sample of his policy of improvement. By straightening lines and reducing grades he is making his roads able to do twice the work they formerly did and for one half the cost of transportation. This is just as great a gain to the country as the construction of new lines; although he has now planned and provided the money to fully develop the whole of Eastern Oregon with new branch roads as soon as the best routes have been determined by careful surveys. And now, as I write this, he is engaging in a titanic struggle—with the powers which have so long ignored the value of "The Oregon System" of the Columbia,—for the preservation and complete utilization of that system. In this contest, Oregon is vitally interested in the success of E. H. Harriman; for if he succeeds in forcing his terms on the managers

of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific systems, he will compel every road coming west over the Rocky Mountains between California and British Columbia to come down through the Columbia River gateway, and contribute their millions to develop commerce on the Columbia and keep that mighty river open from Portland to the Pacific Ocean.

THE OREGON CENTRAL RAILROAD.

By S. A. CLARKE.

THE QUARTERLY for December, 1902, contains Joseph Gaston's story of the Oregon Central Railroad, that virtually claims for him credit for securing the land grant that passed Congress July 25, 1866, and for construction of the railroad to California. Mr. Gaston is mistaken in announcing that he is the only survivor of the board of directors of the companies who contended for the railway land grant.

My attention was first called to this subject by reading H. S. Lyman's account of early railroad building and his eulogy of Gaston as one of the foremost in early successful railroad enterprise in Oregon, naming him with Henry Villard. I also find that Bancroft's History of Oregon quotes as authority a manuscript prepared by Gaston on early railroad building.

S. A. Clarke still survives, who drew the incorporation papers for the company organized at Salem November 17, 1866, and was secretary of that company for three years, until it passed under control of Ben Holladay, who reorganized it to suit existing conditions, when he resigned. He had bought the Salem *Statesman* and had enough to do to run a daily newspaper. As Gaston does not give a clear idea of the railroad situation from 1866 to 1870, I will try to tell the story of the two companies known as the Oregon Central Railroad Company at their early organization.

I had been absent a year and was returning to Oregon by steamer, via Panama, in the fall of 1866, when I met S. G. Elliot, who had been at Washington representing the California and Oregon Railroad Company, of San

Francisco. During the long voyage we became quite intimate and he explained to me the railroad situation. He went East to aid the securing of the land grant from Sacramento to the Oregon line, and as his company was interested in having a through route to the Columbia, they had also worked for the land grant through Oregon.

At Elliot's suggestion I remained a few days in San Francisco to interview with him one of the leading lawyers of that city—Mr. C. Temple Emmet—who was counsel for the California company. After consultation with its leading members he prepared and they signed a proposition, that, if an Oregon company would incorporate to build a railroad from the California line north, they would do all in their power to finance the company and assist in the construction of the road. I remember as signers of that document Mr. Ralston, then one of the magnates of finance of San Francisco, Messrs. Gallagher, Bell Brothers, and others of the leading men of that time.

Whatever railroad schemes may have been on hand before that in Oregon had died out, for there was nothing in sight. Elliot had surveyed from Marysville to Jacksonville and commanded the respect of high class business men. As ours was no scheme for mere personal aggrandizement, it was natural to infer that success would repay us in honorable ways.

When I reached Salem this proposition was presented to gentlemen of standing, who received it favorably, and agreed to incorporate as the Oregon Central Railroad Company, to build from Portland south to the California line. I am far from home and my papers are at Salem, Oregon, so this statement is made from recollection of what occurred a generation gone, but the main facts are correct.

Several of those interested with me alluded to Joseph Gaston as having tried to work up something of the kind in the past, and wished to include him in the new organ-

ization, as recognition of his efforts in that direction. So at their suggestion I saw Gaston and told him of their kindly feeling in connection with the proposed incorporation.

Soon after this, when it seemed time to organize, and prepare for Elliot's coming, I was informed by my friends that Gaston had already drawn papers that they had signed, supposing he was working in harmony with me. When I saw Gaston he promised that my signature should be added before the papers were placed on file; but never gave me the opportunity. Later we learned that Gaston took these articles to Portland and disposed of the signature of friends, who had so kindly tried to advance his fortunes, to Portland capitalists, whose intention was to build a railroad on the west side of the Willamette Valley, in direct opposition to our interests as residents and property owners on the east side.

When we learned this it was instantly determined to incorporate anew, so I drew articles under the same name—The Oregon Central Railroad Company—that were hastily signed by J. S. Smith, I. R. Moores, and E. N. Cooke, that were placed on file with the Secretary of State, on the 17th of November, 1866, while Gaston did not file for his Portland company until November 21st, four days later. These dates are given me by Secretary of State, Hon. F. I. Dunbar, in a recent communication.

The situation then was, that these Salem gentlemen undertook to incorporate The Oregon Central Railroad Company, when their agent, who had the articles they signed, unknown to them turned the articles they had signed over to an opposition company. They then executed other articles that were placed on file with the Secretary of State, first of all bearing that name and for that purpose. Had not their agent betrayed their trust, this

company would have had no rival; certainly no rival could have claim to priority of right to antagonize it.

In *THE QUARTERLY* of December, 1902, referred to, Gaston tells how Elliot appeared on the scene later, and unfolded a scheme to his west side company, but he—Gaston—prevented its acceptance. He says that then three of his incorporators seceded and filed articles on April 22, 1867, in the same name. The facts are that those three seceders were J. S. Smith, George L. Woods, and I. R. Moores, who had signed the articles confiscated—to use a mild term—who merely demanded that their names should be removed from the purloined papers.

Gaston says the Salem company's articles were filed on April 22, 1867, but a recent letter from F. I. Dunbar, Secretary of State, tells me the first articles of that name were filed, as I have before stated, on November 17, 1866. Bancroft's history quotes from Gaston's manuscript on "Railroad Development of Oregon," which tells that ground was broken by Elliot on the east side road, on April 18, 1867, four days before he would now have us believe that company was alive.

I had intimate relations with Elliot, who came to Oregon in response to the action of our company and made a contract to build the road that he was not able to carry out; then Ben Holladay took hold with him and was virtually the "whole thing." He built part way, and found his means insufficient. It is possible that in trying to handle so great an enterprise we mistook legal rights,—as when Governor Woods as chairman of the stockholders' meeting signed for \$7,000,000 of stock, but that was no intended fraud and was as consistent as for Gaston to subscribe for \$2,500,000 to float his west side company.

Elliot undertook too much; Ben Holladay took hold with his million dollars, made by overland staging and

pony express,—that went up like smoke. The road to California was finally finished, thanks to the genius of Henry Villard, but he worked after the initiative of that east side company that was organized by my enterprise on November 17, 1866. With this Gaston had no honorable connection nor part nor lot with anything connected therewith from start to finish.

After my day as secretary of that company it was entirely reorganized as the Oregon and California Railroad Company by the Holladay interest, and all legal complications ended. When able to command material now stored at Salem, Oregon—consisting of newspaper files and correspondence with such journals as the *Sacramento Union* carried on for many years, I shall try to wrest from them features and history of that time.

During the years I was secretary of the company we had offices open, negotiated various matters, made contracts, issued bonds to raise means to meet engagements, received subscriptions, and donations were made by public spirited people to help pay expenses for what was considered a public enterprise. I had very little for my services, as I drew only a few hundred dollars for the three years' time, preferring to look to future success for recompense rather than draw from our small incidental fund. In fact, my services were never paid for as Holladay ignored my claim.

It may pass for history that in the full tide of his profligate career, the *Sacramento Union*, at that time the most influential paper on the coast, in one of its regular letters from its long-time Oregon correspondent, contained a brief sketch of the way Holladay carried on business and "carried on" otherwise. The result was that this carried such weight that the financial magnates who bought his bonds called a halt and refused to advance

more money to be wasted on profligate politics that had been borrowed to build a railroad. Holladay told his workers that this brief item cost him \$100,000; so "time at last makes all things even."

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The readers of the two preceding accounts of the beginning of extensive railroad building in Oregon no doubt wish that there had been the means and the determination to project railways down both sides of the Willamette Valley as parts of the same first system. We should then have been spared some of the accusation that representatives of the "east side" and the "west side" projects now hurl against each other. The documents given below do not settle all of the discrepancies as regards statements of fact made by Messrs. Gaston and Clarke, but to cover all the points at issue between them would require an extended examination of contemporary sources. This the editor promises to make in the near future.

The documents given and the citations made by Mr. Gaston in the body of his paper (pages 116 and 117) do, however, establish the following as facts concerning which Messrs. Gaston and Clarke are at issue :

1. No such company as The Oregon Central Railroad Company was organized or in existence on October 10 when the legislature designated a corporation of that name to receive the land grant made by Congress on the preceding July 25, 1866. As shown by Document II the organization of the company that was first intended to be the recipient was at that date (October 10) only partially organized.

2. The Salem corporation organized November 17, 1866 (see Document I), on which Mr. Clarke bases claims of

priority never figured either as beneficiary of the land grant through designation by the legislature on October 20, 1868, or as party in the litigation that developed the decisions referred to by Mr. Gaston on pages 116 and 117. The corporate organization effected on November 17, 1866, seems to have been immediately abandoned.

3. The Salem corporation that contended with the Portland corporation for the possession of the land grant was organized on April 22, 1867 (see Document III).

STATE OF OREGON,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Salem, June 29, 1906.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of the 28th instant, have to advise that the records of this office do not show that any company under the name of "The Oregon Central Railroad Company" filed articles of incorporation on October 6, 1866. However, Articles of Incorporation of "Oregon Central Rail Road Company," Oregon Central Railroad Company," and "Oregon Central Rail Road Company," were filed in this office on November 17, 1866, November 21, 1866, and April 22, 1867, respectively, and I enclose herewith copies of the same for your information.

Yours very truly,

F. I. DUNBAR,
Secretary of State.

Prof. F. G. Young,
Eugene, Oregon.

Per N. J. H.

DOCUMENT I.

Articles of incorporation of the Oregon Central Rail Road Company.

Art. 1. J. S. Smith, I. R. Moores, and E. N. Cooke, and their associates, successors and assigns, do hereby incorporate themselves under and by virtue of an Act of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, entitled "An Act providing for private Incorporations" approved Oct. 14, 1862.

Art. 2. The name of the incorporation, and by which it shall be known, is the "Oregon Central Rail Road Company," and its duration shall be perpetual.

Art. 3. The objects of this Incorporation and the business in which it proposes to engage are the construction of a Rail Road and Telegraph from Portland, Oregon, to some point on the forty-second parallel of latitude on such line of route as the company may hereafter designate, and also to use said Rail Road when made for the purpose of transporting freight and passengers between the said termini, and

also to keep said Rail Road in repair and to collect such tolls and fare for transportation over said road as this Incorporation shall deem expedient.

Art. 4. The principal office of this Incorporation shall be at the City of Salem in the State of Oregon.

Art. 5. The amount of the Capital Stock of this Incorporation shall be Five Hundred Thousand Dollars.

Art. 6. The amount of each share of such capital stock shall be One Hundred Dollars.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 17th day of November, 1866.

J. S. SMITH. (SEAL)

I. R. MOORES. (SEAL)

E. N. COOKE. (SEAL)

Witness:

J. C. CARTWRIGHT.

M. N. CHAPMAN.

State of Oregon, County of Marion. ss.

On this 17th day of November, A. D., 1866, before me the undersigned, a County Clerk in and for said County of Marion, State of Oregon, personally appeared the above named J. S. Smith, I. R. Moores, and E. N. Cooke, who are personally known to me to be the identical persons described in and who executed the within instrument and acknowledged that they executed the same freely for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the County Court of said County the day and year first above written.

GEO. A. EDES,

Clerk Marion County.

By M. N. CHAPMAN,

Deputy.

(SEAL)

(ENDORSED)

Filed in the office of the Secretary of State this 17th day of November, A. D. 1866, at 6½ o'clock p. m.

SAMUEL E. MAY,

Secretary of State.

Dissolved, and these articles of incorporation revoked and repealed, in pursuance of the provisions of chapter 172, Laws of 1905, by proclamation of the Governor, filed in the office of the Secretary of State January 20, 1906.

F. I. DUNBAR,

Secretary of State.

DOCUMENT II.

Know all men by these presents: that we the undersigned citizens of the State of Oregon, do hereby associate ourselves together as a private incorporation, under and by virtue of the General Incorporation law of said State.

1st. The corporation hereby created shall be known as the "Oregon Central Railroad Company;" and its duration, unlimited.

2nd. The object and business of the Corporation shall be, to construct and operate a Railroad from the City of Portland through the Willamette Valley to the Southern boundary of the State, under the laws of Oregon, and the law of Congress recently passed granting land and aid for such purpose.

3d. The corporation shall have its principal office in the City of Portland.

4th. The capital stock of said corporation shall be five million dollars, divided into general, and preferred interest bearing stock, in such proportions as the incorporators or Board of Directors may deem proper.

5th. The amount of each share of the Capital Stock shall be one hundred dollars.

6th. The termini of the Railroad proposed to be constructed by said Company shall be, for the Northern end, at the City of Portland, and for the Southern end, at some point on or near the Southern boundary of the State by actual survey.

In witness whereof we have here set our hands and seals this — day of September, A. D. 1866.

(I. R. Stamp.)

J. S. SMITH.	(SEAL)
I. R. MOORES.	(SEAL)
J. H. MITCHELL.	(SEAL)
E. D. SHATTUCK.	(SEAL)
JESSE APPLGATE.	(SEAL)
F. A. CHENOWETH.	(SEAL)
JOEL PALMER.	(SEAL)
H. W. CORBETT.	(SEAL)
M. M. MELVINE.	(SEAL)
GEO. L. WOODS.	(SEAL)
R. R. THOMPSON.	(SEAL)
J. C. AINSWORTH.	(SEAL)
S. G. REED.	(SEAL)
JOHN MCCrackEN.	(SEAL)
C. H. LEWIS.	(SEAL)
B. F. BROWN.	(SEAL)
T. H. COX.	(SEAL)
J. GASTON.	(SEAL)

State of Oregon, Marion County. ss.

Be it known that the persons whose names are attached to the foregoing Articles of Incorporation, appeared before me the undersigned, a Notary Public for and within said County and State, respectively at the times and places herein named, to-wit, J. S. Smith, I. R. Moores, J. H. Mitchell, E. D. Shattuck, Jesse Applegate, F. A. Chenoweth, Joel Palmer and H. W. Corbett at Salem in said State on or about the 29th day of September, 1866, and M. M. Melvine at Salem on or about October 23rd, 1866, and George L. Woods at Salem on or about Nov. 10th, 1866, and R. R. Thompson, J. C. Ainsworth, S. G. Reed, Jno. M. McCracken and C. H. Lewis at Portland, Oregon, on the 16th day of November, 1866, and they, the said several subscribing persons to the aforesaid Articles of Incorporation, did then and there, at the several times set forth in this Certificate, sign and seal said Articles before me and in my presence, and acknowledge the said signing and sealing to be their voluntary act and deed for the purposes set forth in said Articles.

In witness whereof I have here set my signature as said Notary Public and attached my official seal this 16th day of November, 1866.

(SEAL)

(I. R. Stamp)

J. GASTON,

Notary Public.

State of Oregon, County of Marion. ss.

On this the 20th day of November, A. D. 1866, before me a Notary Public in and for said County, personally came the within named B. F. Brown, Thos. H. Cox, and J. Gaston, who are personally known to me to be the identical persons whose names are subscribed to the within instrument, and acknowledged to me that they signed the same for the purposes therein set forth.

Witness my hand and seal of office this, the 20th day of November, A. D. 1866.

(SEAL)

SETH R. HAMMER,

Notary Public.

(ENDORSED)

Filed in the office of the Secretary of State this 21st day of November, A. D. 1866, at 10½ o'clock a. m.

SAMUEL E. MAY,

Secy. of State.

Dissolved, and these articles of incorporation repealed, in pursuance of the provisions of Chapter 172, Laws of 1905, by proclamation of the Governor, filed in the office of the Secretary of State January 20, 1906.

F. I. DUNBAR,

Secretary of State.

DOCUMENT III.

(I. R. Stamps)

Know all men by these presents: that we, J. H. Moores, Geo. L. Woods, S. Elsworth by Geo. L. Woods his attorney, I. R. Moores, E. N. Cooke, and J. S. Smith by I. R. Moores their attorney, and Samuel A. Clarke, have this day incorporated ourselves under and in accordance with the laws of Oregon, and we adopt the following as our Articles of Incorporation:

Article First. This Corporation shall be known as and do business under the name of the Oregon Central Rail Road Company.

Article Second. The enterprise, occupation, and business for which this company incorporates is to construct a rail road with all the necessary branches, fixtures, buildings, and appurtenances from Portland in Oregon, Southerly, about three hundred miles to the California line; to maintain and repair, and to employ the same in the transportation of freight and passengers and freight.

Article Third. The principal office for the transaction of the business of the Company shall be kept at the City of Salem, Marion County, Oregon.

Article Fourth. The Capital Stock of the Oregon Central Railroad Company shall be fixed at Seven Millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$7,250,000.00).

Article Fifth. The number of shares of the Capital Stock shall be Seventy-two thousand five hundred (72,500), and the amount of each share of the stock shall be one hundred dollars (\$100.00).

Article Sixth. The period of time during which the company shall remain in operation is not limited as to duration.

In testimony of our adoption of the foregoing Articles of Incorporation, witness our hands and seals this the twenty-second day of April, A. D. 1867.

JOHN H. MOORES. (SEAL)

GEO. L. WOODS. (SEAL)

S. ELSWORTH. (SEAL)

By GEO. L. WOODS, Atty.

I. R. MOORES. (SEAL)

J. S. SMITH, (SEAL)

Per I. R. MOORES, Atty.

E. N. COOKE, (SEAL)

Per I. R. MOORES, Atty.

SAM'L A. CLARKE. (SEAL)

State of Oregon, Marion County. ss.

Be it remembered that on this twenty-second day of April, A. D. 1867, personally came before me, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, the within named I. R. Moores, Geo. L. Woods, I. R. Moores for himself and also as attorney in fact for each of the following named

persons, J. S. Smith & E. N. Cooke, and S. Elsworth by Geo. L. Woods his atty., and S. A. Clarke, who several acknowledged that they signed the within and foregoing instrument in person, or as attorney, for the uses and purposes therein named.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Notarial Seal this the day and year above written.

(SEAL)

(I. R. Stamp)

C. S. WOODWORTH,
Notary Public.

(ENDORSED)

Articles of Incorporation of Oregon Central R. R. Co. Filed in the office of the Secretary of State this 22nd day of April, A. D. 1867.

I. R. MOORES,
Acting Secy. of State.

Dissolved, and these articles of incorporation revoked and repealed, in pursuance of the provisions of Chapter 172, Laws of 1905, by proclamation of the Governor, filed in the office of the Secretary of State January 20, 1906.

F. I. DUNBAR,
Secretary of State.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT AND LOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON AT EUGENE.

By J. J. WALTON.

The Congress of the United States donated to the State of Oregon two townships of land to aid in the establishment and support of a state university. These lands were selected by the authority and under the direction of the State Land Board, composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer, in different parts of the State. These lands were sold by the State, or the greater part of them, and very unwisely, too, for they were sold at a very low price. The State has realized out of the proceeds of the sale of this 46,000 acres of land about \$100,000, when, if care and proper attention had been given this matter by these officers the State could have realized \$350,000 or \$400,000. The fund arising from the sale of these lands was set apart by the law as an irreducible fund, the interest of which should be used in the support of a State University. The constitution of the State provides that the Legislative Assembly may locate the university and make laws to govern the same.

In the latter part of July or first of August, 1872, at the old schoolhouse in Eugene, a quiet meeting was held by a few citizens, consisting of W. J. J. Scott, Ben F. Dorris, as school directors, John C. Arnold, as teacher of district No. 4, and Hon. J. M. Thompson and S. H. Spencer as friends. The object of this meeting was to discuss the propriety and ascertain if the means could be raised to establish a high school in Eugene, which high school was to be located on a block of land if the same could be procured from the county. Hon. J. M. Thompson was then

county judge. In the conversation at this little meeting Mr. J. C. Arnold suggested the propriety of asking the legislature of the State to aid in some way in erecting a high school building. This suggestion of Mr. Arnold brought to the mind of Judge Thompson the fact that at the near approaching session of the legislature the State University of Oregon would be located, as that was the time limited by the State constitution. Judge Thompson immediately told the gentlemen present about the location of the State University, and then asked those present why not make an effort to secure the location of that institution in Eugene. This idea sent an electric thrill through that little meeting and by their prompt action in a short time through the entire community. Mr. Dorris responded to the question asked by Judge Thompson with his usual vigor and enthusiasm, said that we must go to work immediately, and that a public meeting must be called for the next evening. Mr. Dorris further urged the little meeting to take prompt action in the matter, for the reason that but a short time before at the State Teachers' Institute held in Eugene in the old Baptist church, Prof. T. F. Campbell (father of P. L. Campbell, now president of the State University) made special and minute inquiry as to the extent and condition of the university lands in this county. This inquiry made by Professor Campbell was answered by Hon. T. G. Hendricks, who was then school superintendent of Lane County, as fully and completely as possible with the facts at hand. Mr. Dorris again suggested that Professor Campbell had in his mind the location of the university possibly at Monmouth, Oregon.

A public meeting was, accordingly, called for the next evening at the court house. A few responded to the call, and among the number was Hon. T. G. Hendricks and myself. The meeting heard the object of the call stated by the little company who had met the night before at the

schoolhouse. It was immediately resolved to make an effort to secure the location of the university at Eugene. It was determined by the meeting to make an offer to the legislature of \$50,000, or to procure a site and erect thereon a building suitable for university purposes worth the sum of \$50,000, and deed the same to the State of Oregon. In order to handle this matter it was thought best to form a corporation, and a committee, consisting of J. M. Thompson, J. J. Walton, and Ben F. Dorris, was appointed to prepare and submit articles of incorporation. The committee prepared a form of corporation and named it the "Union University Association," with a capital stock of \$50,000. The articles of incorporation were approved and adopted and the names of the incorporators are as follows: J. M. Thompson, J. J. Walton, W. J. J. Scott, B. F. Dorris, J. G. Gray, J. B. Underwood, J. J. Comstock, A. S. Patterson, S. H. Spencer, E. L. Bristow, E. L. Applegate, A. W. Patterson.

The articles of incorporation were signed and acknowledged on the 30th day of August, 1872, before C. W. Fitch, notary public. The legislature met in September, 1872, and it was necessary to have a bill prepared to present to the legislature to create the University of Oregon, and locate the same. The matter of preparing a bill in proper form was discussed by the incorporation, and it was determined to refer the same to Judge Mathew P. Deady, United States District Judge for Oregon, and then acting as code commissioner, appointed by the Legislature to codify the laws of Oregon. After some correspondence and interviews with a committee of the incorporation Judge Deady consented to prepare a draft of a bill with provisions suggested by the incorporators.

At that time it was thought proper and right by the members of the Union University Association, that inasmuch as the citizens of Eugene and Lane County were

proposing to donate to the State a site and building worth \$50,000, the Union University Association ought to have a right to elect a certain number of the board to govern the State University. So the bill provided that the board of directors to govern the State University should consist of nine members, six of whom to be appointed by the Governor of the State, and three to be elected by the Union University Association. The bill provided that the Union University Association should select a site, to be approved by the State Land Commissioners, and erect thereon a building worth \$50,000, and deed the same to the State of Oregon on or before the first day of January, 1874, and on failure to do so the act should become null and void. It was the intention and purpose of the incorporators of Union University Association, and those working with them, to raise the sum of \$20,000 by subscriptions and donations principally in Eugene, and the remaining \$30,000, by a tax levy on the assessable property of Lane County.

A bill authorizing the county court of Lane County to levy a tax on the assessable property of the county sufficient to raise the sum of \$30,000 to aid in erecting the building for the university was drawn by a committee appointed by the Union University Association, and submitted to the legislature at the session thereof in 1872.

The incorporators of the Union University Association held a meeting October 23, 1872, to organize, and elected J. M. Thompson, chairman, and J. J. Walton, secretary. At that meeting a committee, consisting of J. M. Thompson, J. J. Walton, W. J. J. Scott, and B. F. Dorris, was appointed to solicit subscriptions. The sum of \$20,000 was raised by subscriptions and donations, principally by the people of Eugene, but not without a struggle and persistent effort, for at that time Eugene was a small place. But the people were enthusiastic and enterprising, and very liberal in their donations.

The bill to create and locate the State University passed both houses and was signed by the Governor; and also the bill authorizing the county court to levy a tax on the assessable property of the county for the aid of the people in raising the remaining \$30,000 to secure the university, passed the legislature and was signed by the Governor. The question of the location of the site of the University in Eugene was a source of much contention. The people living in the west end of the town wanted it located near them, while those living in the east end wanted it there. And on the 8th day of November, 1872, a called meeting of the Union University Association was held to consider the question, and it was decided to appoint a committee to select grounds for a site, and receive propositions and bids for the same. A committee was appointed for that purpose, consisting of Dr. A. W. Patterson, Ben F. Dorris, E. L. Bristow, W. J. J. Scott, and J. G. Gray. This committee received propositions from quite a number of persons to sell land for the site, and reported the same to the association. To harmonize these factions it was agreed to select a site for the university on the D. R. Christian land just south of Eleventh Street, and between High and Oak streets, containing some ten acres, that being a central point between the factions. But many serious objections were made to this location, the principal ones were that the land was too flat,—want of drainage, and that it would soon be in the center of the town. The act locating the university at Eugene, provided that the Board of State Land Commissioners, consisting of the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer, should approve and accept the site and building on the part of the State. I suggested to the Union University Association that inasmuch as the law required the State Land Commissioners to approve and accept the site, it would be the part of wisdom to invite these State officers to Eugene to look at the

different sites offered and indicate the one they preferred. This was done. Governor Grover, Secretary Chadwick, and State Treasurer Fleischner were invited to come to Eugene and view the different sites and indicate the one they preferred. The Governor could not come. Secretary Chadwick and Treasurer Fleischner came, and after viewing all the sites offered, they selected the Henderson site, where the university now stands. This settled the controversy as to the site. The grounds, consisting of eighteen acres, were purchased of J. H. D. Henderson for the sum of \$2,500.

THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE LAND.

A Brief History of Early Horticulture in Oregon.

By DR. J. R. CARDWELL, Portland.

For many years president of the Oregon Horticultural Society.

II.

Ten thousand square miles of the valleys and foothills of Oregon are in every way adapted to the culture of all the fruits grown in this latitude, of the finest quality and in great abundance. Before the advent of the white man and cultivated fruits, this country had demonstrated its capacity to produce the wild fruits abundantly, of fine flavor and excellence. The Indians, trappers, and pioneers valued these highly and made good use of them. As they were in some sense evidence of a soil and climate adaptation to and prophetic of a great industry now growing up among us, it is not out of place to briefly make some record of them; and this seems the more important in view of the fact that the pomological division of the Department of the Interior has taken up the subject and is making collections and urging the improvement of indigenous fruits and the hybridizing and cultivation of them and in view of the fact that some of our best fruits have been thus produced.

The Oregon crab apple (*Pyrus rivularis*) is found on cold marshy ground, bordering ponds, mountain springs, and streams, and when favorably situated is a good sized tree and attains a diameter of one foot and an altitude of twenty feet. Its rich green spreading top in the season bears heavily a small, oval, golden-colored apple, which when ripe is eaten by the Indians, and was used in early times by the white settlers for making preserves, jelly, and vinegar. This species has been hybridized and improved by some of our

nurserymen, and no doubt will be further improved, which may lead to a valuable variety in the future.

The Oregon wild plum (*Prunus subcordata*), of which there are two or three varieties, was much valued in early times for its fruit to eat green, for preserves, and jam. This plum for quality is about the same as the native red plum of the Middle West, and has been improved by selection and cultivation; was used formerly by nurserymen for stock on which to graft the plum and prune. The tree grows to a height of ten or fifteen feet. Another variety produces a round fruit nearly an inch in diameter; another an oblong, resembling in shape, color, and quality the Damson, and by those who use them preferred to that variety. Of these something may be expected from hybridizing and cultivation.

We have two or more species of wild cherries; one, *Cerasus demissa*, a shrub or small tree bearing a purplish black fruit, very much resembling the choke cherry, though of much better quality and edible; is used to some extent in marmalade; its roots have been used as stock to work improved varieties upon. The other, *Cerasus emarginati*, sometimes attains to the dignity of a tree one foot in diameter and thirty to forty feet high, and bears a roundish, black cherry about one third of an inch in diameter, bitter and astringent.

The Oregon elder (*Sambucus glauca*) is a unique tree of unsurpassed elegance and rare beauty on the lawn or in the forest; is of vigorous growth, attaining two feet in diameter and thirty feet in height, with a beautifully cut leaf of rich bluish green, decked with showy sprays of creamy white flowers six to ten inches across, and in the fall of the year gorgeously arrayed and heavily laden with purple berries, interspersed with green fruit and blossoms, which continue to bud and bloom from June to September, giving a succession of flowers, green fruit, and ripe purple

berries the entire season. The berry has a pleasant sub-acid taste, and with a little sugar is palatable in pies, stewed, or in preserves, and properly prepared makes an excellent wine, for which it is now often used. Another variety of smaller growth (*Sambucus pubens*) has a red berry, also edible. This variety is not so widely distributed, and is only found along the coast and up the streams inland.

The grape (*Vitis Californica*) is found in the southern part of the State, and has been much used in other countries as a phyloxera resistant stock, on which to work European varieties. This fruit is something like the fox grape of the East, and has been some improved by selection and cultivation, and will doubtless be of value in the future.

Oregon is a land rich in native berries, which were held in great esteem by the Indians and early settlers, some of which are really fine and yet much sought after and utilized, and form a considerable commerce in our towns and cities.

The wild blackberry (*Rubus ursinus*) is very abundant everywhere, and takes possession of neglected fields, fence rows and burned districts. The fruit is of good size, oblong, very sweet and juicy, and believed by the children and good housewife to be for all purposes much superior to the cultivated varieties. Tons of this fruit are gathered and sold to families, and if there were more pickers a large commerce could be made with the canneries. The Aughinbaugh is a sport from this species.

Of raspberries, we have four varieties—the salmon berry (*Rubus nutkanus*), a large, yellowish, red fruit, with a white blossom, juicy, sweet, highly flavored, very palatable; a red berry (*Rubus leucodermis*), highly aromatic, soft, sweet and very good; a black cap (*Rubus pendens*), not unlike Gregg's black cap, and with us, under cultivation, fully its equal. This berry is widely distributed and

abundant. A black raspberry (*Rubus spectabilis*), being rather hard and dry to rank first class, yet with a peculiar flavor; very palatable to some tastes.

The wild strawberry (*Fragaria Chilensis*) is widespread, abundant and very prolific, so that in some regions it is said hogs fatten on them. The berry is not large, but improves under cultivation, and by some is classed superior in flavor to the cultivated kinds. Several fine varieties have been produced by cross-fertilization with this, among which are the Triomphe de Grand, True Chili, and several other varieties.

We have several wild currants, one a beautiful shrub and sought in the Eastern States and Europe as an ornamental lawn plant, and valued for its elegant foliage and early and profuse bloom of pink and scarlet flowers; berry not edible. The yellow currant (*Ribes aureum*) responds well to cultivation, and in the wild state is good sized and edible.

Of gooseberries, two or three kinds are common. *Ribes Menziesii* is a large, hairy berry, edible, but rather insipid, and is not much used. Two others are red and brown when ripe, a fourth of an inch in diameter, sweetish, tart; good for culinary purposes; do not know of their cultivation.

Four or more cranberries are found in the State. *Vaccinium parvifolium* is a pale, red berry, small, dry, with a very slight cranberry taste, and not used. *Vaccinium ovalifolium*, high bush cranberry, is a large, blue berry, good and in some localities where fruit is scarce very useful; much sought by the Indians. *Vaccinium microphyllum* is a red, high bush cranberry, smaller, juicy and palatable; only found high up in the mountains. Another is found in the Cascade and Coast ranges as an evergreen bush, and bears a dark, purple berry; edible. Local botanists speak of other varieties.

The barberry (*Berberis Aquifolium*), Oregon grape, so-called, is a superb and elegant ornamental evergreen shrub, in leaf somewhat resembling the English holly; in the wild state growing two or three feet high; under cultivation making a showy lawn plant, six to eight feet, with finely cut, polished leaves and symmetrical head; early in spring bearing a profusion of showy, yellow flowers, followed in their season by clusters of dark purplish black berries, the size of wild cherries; altogether a thing of beauty rarely equaled; fruit acid and make a fine beverage, and good pies and preserves. There are others of the barberry family.

The salal (*Gaultheria Myrsinites*) is scattered through the dense fir forests of the State; is another beautiful, small shrub, evergreen, bearing an acid, edible berry, size and color of the Oregon grape; much sought by the Indians, and in early days made an excellent wine for the resident Hudson Bay Company employees. The salal is a variety of wintergreen, and seems to thrive best in the deep shade of the forests; has not been cultivated.

The service berry, or Juneberry, a small tree six to twelve feet high, we expect to make a good record for in the future. This has been cultivated in other parts of the world and much improved. The service berry in the Willamette Valley grows in all soils, and at altitudes as high as the snow line, bearing a sweetish, pleasant tasting berry about the size of our largest wild cherry; as yet it has not been cultivated with us or much utilized.

A black haw (*Crataegus Douglasii*), not unlike the black haw of the middle west, is sparsely found in some localities.

Our one filbert, hazel nut (*Corylus rostrata*), is of the same species as the imported nuts in our market, and closely approximating in size, flavor, and quality, and grows everywhere in our valleys, sometimes to a tree ten inches in diameter and from eight to fifteen feet high.

No effort is recorded of any attempt to cultivate or improve it.

A kind of chinquapin chestnut (*Castanopsis chrysophylla*), is a symmetrical growing tree, fifty to one hundred feet high, bearing abundantly a small, hardshell chestnut, sweet and edible.

It is not too much to say that all the valleys and foothills of Oregon are fruit lands, and abound in choice spots for the different fruits cultivated in our climate.

As perhaps, is always true in a new country, the fruits of Willamette Valley were uniformly large and free from insect pests or fungus blights, consequently made a superlatively fine showing, stood handling and transportation much better than the fruits of this valley to-day, kept much longer and better; in fact, our winter apples and pears generally kept until late in the spring. I premise that persistent and thorough spraying may correct the present degenerate condition — pests and blight.

In those days it was not uncommon for Yellow Newtowns, Spitzenburgs, Winesap, American Pippin, and the Easter Buerre pear, to keep well, sometimes marketable as late as April and May. The Winesap was then a fine keeper, as was also the Winter Nellis and Easter Buerre.

We have always had the reputation of growing the largest fruits, proven at all the World's fairs in this country, since at Philadelphia in 1876. Yet larger were the first fruits in the fifties and sixties. A letter from Mr. John Barnard, published in the *Oregonian*, a few days since, will give some idea of the size of the Gloria Mundi apple, which in those days was not uncommonly 24 to 36 ounces in weight. Other apples were accordingly large. I quote:

In 1856, fifty years ago, there was an apple grown in Benton County, Oregon, purchased by my brother, A. D. Barnard, of Corvallis. He paid \$5 for that apple, and had a tin box made for it, and sent to me

in Boston by express, the charge being about \$3. The variety was "Gloria Mundi," nearly six inches in diameter, weight 42 ounces. The apple was weighed by Dr. J. R. Cardwell, the dentist, then visiting at Corvallis, who remembers the apple and price paid for it. The next October, 1857, I came to Oregon, went to Corvallis and paid \$8 a bushel for Oregon red apples and sold them at \$1 a dozen.

JOHN L. BARNARD.

To make record of a perhaps original horticultural trick, and the possibilities of the Pound pear, I vouch for the following story, which I know to be true. It was how Mr. J. W. Walling beat the world's record possibly for all time, in the growth of the Pound pear.

As is evident, Mr. Walling was somewhat original and withal a practical fruit-grower. He in-arched into one body two of our native thorns (*Cratægus brevispino*) of thrifty growth, planted in a black, loamy soil near a flowing spring. On the top, thus growing in-arched into one body, he grafted the Pound pear. When this tree came into bearing, of good size and vigorous growth, he removed all the young pears but two of the largest and most promising. These he suspended in sacks to support an unusual weight. In the dry season of the late summer and fall, a large tub with spigot filled with water to supply just the right moisture, was placed over the roots. The result of this proceeding was two enormously large pears, one weighing 54 ounces, shown in some of our local fruit meetings, probably in 1858. This pear was sent to the Department of Horticulture, Washington, D. C., and was rightly regarded as a world's wonder in the pear family.

Our Royal Ann cherry, (*Napoleon Bigarreaux*), clean, bright, and beautiful, ran in those days, 3 to 3¼ inches in circumference. Peaches, when we had them, strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, and currants, accordingly large. The size, quality, and beauty of our fruits were always a surprise to newcomers.

In the summer and fall of 1857 a few ambitious and competitive fruit growers of Multnomah County attempted a social organization in Portland. The first meeting was in cherry time, held in a vacant room on Front Street. Boxes and heavy bearing limbs of berries and cherries, with flowers and vegetables of the season, tastily arranged on tables, made quite a respectable showing; in fact, a display that would be creditable at the present day—1906. Such cherries, blackberries, strawberries, gooseberries, and currants had never been seen on exhibition before. There was no sign of fungus or insect pest—clean, bright, ripe fruits.

George Walling, Albert Walling, Henry Miller, Thomas Frazier, J. H. Lambert, James B. Stevens, Henry Prettyman, J. H. Settlemeir, Seth Lewelling, were leading spirits, all enthusiasts and practical fruit growers, knew about fruit growing, and did most of the talking. Thomas Frazier was elected president, and Albert Walling secretary.

Monthly meetings were held for several months; called meetings were held two or three times in the summer and fall of 1858. In 1859 the Multnomah County Agricultural Society was organized, with Thomas Frazier president, Albert Walling secretary. About this time the first state fair meeting was held at Clackamas, a suburb of Oregon City. W. H. Rector, president, Albert Walling, secretary.

In 1858 the following agricultural societies were organized, and these all meant largely horticultural societies:

Corvallis, Benton County, October 13, a county fair with fruit display; A. G. Hovey, president, and E. M. Waite, secretary.

Albany, Linn County, a fair, October 28, 29.

Salem, September 5.

Lane County, Eugene, September 11, 12; A. McMurry, president, E. E. Haft, secretary.

Yamhill County, McMinnville, October 27, 28.

Jacksonville, October 25.

A county fair at Eugene, October 9; president, W. S. Brock, secretary, B. J. Pengra.

These societies all inaugurated annual fairs, with competitive exhibits of fruits, grain, and live stock. They did much to educate the people and promote the fruit industry of the State, leading up to the permanent establishment of the State Horticultural Society and state fairs.

In 1861, October 1, 2, and 3, a state fair was held in Oregon City. W. H. Rector was president, and Albert Walling, secretary.

Marion County fair at Salem, September 11 and 12.

Linn County, Boston fair, September 18 and 19.

Umpqua Valley Agricultural Society Fair at Oakland, September 12.

Yamhill County Agricultural Society and fair at McMinnville, September 24 and 25.

Benton County Agricultural Society Fair at Corvallis, October 3 and 4.

Lane County Agricultural Society Fair, October 9 and 10, Eugene.

Washington County Agricultural Society Fair at Hillsboro, October 16 and 17.

Multnomah Agricultural Society and Fair, October 23 and 24. Thomas Frazier, president, and Albert Walling, secretary.

State fair at Salem, September 20, October 1, 2, and 3. Major Simeon Francis, president, and Samuel May secretary. Hon. R. P. Boise delivered the annual address.

For the first three years the Oregon State Agricultural Society, first meeting at Clackamas, second at Oregon City, and third at Salem, had quite a considerable premium list, which was promptly met by the society without state

aid, a three-dollar membership fee, the generosity of the public and members furnished the necessary money.

On petition to the legislature setting forth the situation, urging an appropriation for more efficient work, to secure a permanent organization, the matter was taken up by the legislature, discussed pro and con, and finally an appropriation of \$3,000 per annum was passed, since which time the society has had state aid. At the fourth fair, at Salem, George Collier Robbins of Portland, was elected president, Albert Walling, secretary.

This society has been an important factor in promoting the agricultural interest of the State, now a permanent state institution holding a creditable state fair at Salem annually.

The Oregon State Horticultural Society was organized in Portland January 13, 1889, with a long list of active members from all over the State. J. R. Cardwell, president, E. W. Allen, secretary.

For many years quarterly horticultural meetings were held by invitation from the different towns of the State, with marked interest and beneficial results to the horticulture of the State, financially, fraternally, and socially.

The local interest and generosity of resident horticulturists in the display of fruits, flowers, decorated halls, music, excursions through the country, well-ordered ovations, the defraying of all expenses of visiting members and the society, was a notable feature of these gatherings. Able papers were read and discussed, the best social feeling prevailed, and everybody went away feeling better and wiser.

The Oregon State Horticultural Society is now a permanent prosperous state institution, active in the work of horticulture. Biennial meetings are held, the annual meeting January 13 in Portland, and one summer meeting out, as designated by the executive committee on in-

visitation of outside localities. The next summer meeting to be held in Salem, July 6 and 7.

The society has had two presidents in the eighteen years of its existence. The Honorable E. L. Smith of Hood River, and Dr. J. R. Cardwell of Portland. Prof. E. R. Lake, botanist and horticulturist of the Agricultural College of Corvallis has been the very efficient secretary and treasurer for the last twelve years.

The State Board of Horticulture is a creation of the legislature of 1889, approved by the Governor February 25, 1889. The measure was entitled "An act to create a state board of horticulture, and appropriate money therefor." This has proved an opportune and very efficient board, an educational aid in the inspection and eradication of insect and fungi pests. Thirty-five hundred dollars per annum was appropriated to maintain this board.

The following officers and members were appointed by the Governor: J. R. Cardwell, president, Portland, commissioner for the State at large; James A. Varney, The Dalles, inspector of fruit pests, commissioner for the fourth district; R. S. Wallace, treasurer, Salem, commissioner for the second district; Henry E. Dosch, Hillsdale, commissioner for the first district; J. D. Whitman, Medford, commissioner for the third district; James Hendershott, Cove, commissioner for the fifth district; E. W. Allen, secretary, Portland.

District boundaries — First district: Multnomah, Clackamas, Yamhill, Washington, Columbia, Clatsop, and Tillamook Counties. Second district: Marion, Polk, Benton, Linn, and Lane Counties. Third district: Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Coos, Curry, and Lake Counties. Fourth district: Morrow, Wasco, Gilliam, Crook, and Sherman Counties. Fifth district: Baker, Wallowa, Malheur, Harney, and Grant Counties.

The biennial reports of this board have been well received at home and abroad, and are now an acknowledged authority in the horticultural literature of the State. These reports were awarded at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N. Y., a gold medal; at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha, in 1898, a gold medal; at the Interstate and West India Exposition at Charleston, S. C., 1902, a gold medal; at the International Exposition, held at Osaka, Japan, in 1903, a gold medal. Are now used as text-books at the Agricultural Experiment Station at Sapporo Hokkaido, Japan, and in the horticultural studies at the Agricultural College, Stuttgart, Germany.

The present officers and members of the board are: W. K. Newell, president; James H. Reed, treasurer; Geo. H. Lamberson, secretary, Portland. W. K. Newell, Gaston, commissioner for the State at large; James H. Reed, Milwaukee, commissioner for the first district; Chas. A. Park, Salem, commissioner for the second district; A. H. Carson, Grants Pass, commissioner for the third district; R. H. Weber, The Dalles, commissioner for the fourth district; Judd Geer, Cove, commissioner for the fifth district.

ROUTE ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS WITH A DESCRIPTION OF OREGON AND CALIFORNIA, ETC., 1843.

[REPRINT OF A WORK BY OVERTON JOHNSON AND WM. H. WINTER,
PUBLISHED IN 1846.]

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF WESTERN OREGON.

Willammette Falls, Mills, etc.—Description of the Willammette Valley—Head of the Willammette River—Calapooiah Mountains—Umpqua Valley—Umpqua Mountains—Valley of Rogue's River—Clamuth or Chesty Valley—Description of Country North of the Columbia—Mount St. Helens, an Active Volcano—Numerous Low Islands in the Columbia River—Astoria or Fort George—Indians West of the Cascade Mountains—their method of catching Salmon—Government organized—Peopling of America and Pacific Islands—Scenery in Oregon.

Great improvements were made in the little town, at the Falls of the Willammette, during our stay in the Country. There was [*sic*] at the Falls, when we left, a Saw and Grist Mill on one of the Rock Islands, belonging to an American Company, styled the Oregon Milling Company, and on the main shore, two Saw Mills and a large merchant Flouring Mill, belonging to Dr. McLaughlin, four Dry Goods Stores, a School House, two Churches, a Public Library, a flourishing Literary Society, Law offices, Physicians, Shops, and Mechanics, of almost every description, and a population of about three hundred persons.

At the Falls, the Willammette precipitates down a perpendicular basaltic rock, thirty-three feet, and spreads out as it approaches the precipice, into a broad sheet, at the verge of which it is nearly a half a mile wide. It is divided by two large Islands of rock into three different shoots. The whole descent of the water from the level surface above, to that below, is about forty-five feet. The River for some distance above and below the Falls, runs through a channel cut in the solid rock. On the East

side, extending down from the Falls several hundred yards, and back from the water five hundred and fifty feet, there is a perpendicular wall one hundred and fifty feet high; further down the space between the hills and the River increases in width until there is sufficient room for a town of considerable size.

The Valley of the Willammette, which has generally been considered the best portion of Oregon, is situated on the South side of the Columbia River, between the Cascade Mountains, a lofty range running nearly parallel with the coast, at a distance from it of about one hundred and twenty-five miles, and the Calapooiah Mountains, a range of considerable height, which rise immediately on the coast, and extend along it so as to form an entire rock bound shore. The Valley has an average width of about seventy-five miles, and extends South one hundred and fifty miles. It is traversed from South to North by the Willammette River, a large and beautiful stream, which is navigable to the Falls, within two miles of which the tide reaches. The Falls overcome, and navigation reaches fifty miles further up the River. This valley is divided into several portions, by ranges of high lands running in different directions, generally following the course of the streams. The principal tributaries of the Willammette are the Clackamus, which rises in the Cascade Mountains and empties one and a half miles above [below] the Falls; the Twalita, which rises in the Calapooiah Mountains, flows through the Twalita Plains, and empties two miles above the Falls; and, eight miles above the Falls, the Moolally or Pudding River, which rises in the Cascade Mountains and empties into the Willammette from the East: fifteen miles above the Moolally, the Yamhill River, which empties from the West; and above the Yamhill, the Sandy Yam, which empties from the East. The streams emptying from either side have their sources in the bordering

Mountains. On the lower Willamette, the country near the River is broken, and covered with dense forests of Pine. Further back from the River it is diversified, with open woodland and groves of heavy timber; and still further, there are beautiful plains, lying between the streams, separated by belts of timber, and extending back to the Mountains. On the upper Willamette the country is more open and level, and is diversified with groves of Oak, Pine, and Fir, and broad and fertile plains, covered with luxuriant crops of grass. Above the mouth of the Yamhill River, a range of hills commences, and follows the Willamette River, continuing, gradually, to increase in height, to its junction with the Columbia. From the mouth of the Willamette they follow the South bank of the Columbia, within fifteen miles of the Ocean; thence they bear away to the South, and join with the Calapooiah Mountains, at Cape Look Out,¹ twenty miles South of the Columbia; encircling the Twalita plains, a cluster of small, but rich and beautiful prairies, lying twenty miles West of the Falls of the Willamette, being in extent about equal to thirty miles square and connected by the Shohalam Valley and Yamhill district, with the upper Willamette. In the upper Willamette Valley, the plains are more extensive, and in some places there is a scarcity of timber; but the soil is fine, and frequently we meet with small spots of clover, growing wild, over many parts of the country. Seventy-five miles above the mouth of the Sandy Yam, the Willamette Valley rapidly decreases in width, until it is nothing more than a narrow defile between the Mountains. No one has ever traced the River to its source, and but little is known of it, beyond the head of the Valley. It has generally been thought to rise in Mount Mclaughlin, one of the highest peaks in

¹ Cape Lookout is confused with Tillamook Head.—ED. QUARTERLY.

the Cascade range, and it is so marked on the best maps that have been made of the country; but the information we have received, from the Company which went across, from Fort Boise to California, convinces us to the contrary. They stated, that, after leaving the waters of Snake River, and ascending a high Mountain, they came upon an extensive level table land, which they supposed to be about eighty miles across, having a good soil, and being diversified with forest and plain; and that, having obtained an Indian pilot, whose language they could not understand, it was with much difficulty they persuaded him that they wished to go to the South West. The Indian showing them a small stream, and pointing to the North West, informed them that it led to a settlement of people, similar to themselves, and they were convinced that their guide alluded to the settlement on the Willamette, and that this was its source. They finally succeeded in getting him to understand that they were aware of the location of the settlement, to which he alluded, and that they did not wish to go to it. After reflecting some time, the Indian seemed to recollect like a dream, of there being white people to the South West, and accordingly conducted them to the head waters of the Sacramento, which has its sources, as they informed us, in the Southern part of this same table land.

The country on the Eastern side of the Willamette is very similar to that on the West, excepting that it is rather more level, and not so high, or uneven, near the River, and is not separated from the Columbia, by any high range of hills, as it is on the Western side. There is an abundance of excellent timber in this valley, the greatest portion of which is Fir. There are, also, in different parts, considerable quantities of Oak, Pine, and Cedar; and besides these, there is Hemlock, Yew, Balm, Maple, Alder, Laurel, Dogwood, Cherry, and Ash, with a

great variety of shrubs and plants, and many such as we have never seen in any other country. Besides the power at the Falls of the Willammette, which is alone sufficient to propel an immense machinery, there is a vast amount of the water power in this valley, at least entirely sufficient always to supply every want of the country. Besides the Mills at the Falls, of which we have already made mention, there are in the upper Willammette, a Grist and Saw Mill, built by the Methodist Mission, and another Saw Mill building by an individual. In the Twalita plains there is a Flouring Mill in operation, and a Saw Mill in progress of building. Seven miles above Vancouver the Hudson's Bay Company have Saw and Grist Mills. Twenty-five miles above Astoria, and near the Columbia, there is an excellent Saw Mill in operation, and on the Clatsop plains there is a small Patent Mill being set up for the accommodation of the settlers at the mouth of the River. The present population of the country, the great portion of which is in the Willammette Valley, amounts to about 6000 souls (exclusive of the Natives). A portion of these are English, French, and half breeds; but a large majority are from the United States and have emigrated to this country overland within the last four years. Those who have come into the country have been industrious, and improvements have gone rapidly on. Quite a considerable portion of the Willammette Valley has already been brought into cultivation, and there is, after supplying the inhabitants and emigration, annually, several thousand bushels of surplus wheat. New farms are being opened daily, and the cabin of the bold and enterprising pioneer may be seen rising on many a verdant hill, or nestled away in the quiet seclusion of many a flowery nook; and ere long the plow share and the axe promise to turn this wild and flowery wilderness into rustling fields and blooming gardens.

The Valley of the Umpqua is divided from that of the Willamette by the Calapooiah Mountains, a single and almost unbroken ridge, the course of which is nearly East and West. Across these Mountains, which are not high, and the ascent and descent of which are very gradual, is a distance of about twelve miles. They are thickly covered with good Fir timber, are not rocky, and have a soil fit for cultivation. The Umpqua Valley is about thirty-five miles wide and its length is not certainly known. Its general character is very similar to the Willamette Valley, excepting that its surface is more undulating. The Umpqua River runs through the middle of the Valley, receiving numerous tributaries from the neighboring Mountains. It is a stream sufficiently large for navigation; but the great rapidity of its current will probably always prevent it from being useful for that purpose. The Valley is diversified with woodland and prairies; but the prairies occupy the greater portion, the timber being principally along the water courses and on the bordering Mountains. The prairies have a good soil, and are covered with a most excellent kind of grass. There is a great deal of fall in the smaller streams, and, having their sources in the Mountains, they are constant, and afford numerous fine water privileges. There is some granite in this Valley, but the prevailing rock is basaltic. The Umpqua Indians are quite numerous. They are not openly hostile to the whites, but yet it is not considered entirely safe for a few persons to travel through their country. No settlement has yet been made in the Valley, and no person has yet visited it except those passing through, to or from California. The Hudson's Bay Company have a trading Post near the mouth of the River. Supplies are taken to it overland, from Vancouver, on pack animals. There is a small bay at the mouth of the Umpqua, but the depth of water at the entrance is sufficient only for small vessels. It affords a tolerable har-

bor; but the intervening Mountains, extending along the coast, separate the Valley from the Ocean, and the River passing through them probably contains Falls, Rapids, and Canyons that will prevent vessels from passing any considerable distance up the River. This Valley, although it is separated by the surrounding Mountains, not only from all other portions of the country, but also from the Sea-Board, nevertheless offers sufficient inducements to ensure its speedy settlement. The Calapooiah Mountains are so gradual and unbroken that a good wagon road can easily be made across them into the Willamette Valley, and a railroad can be made to connect it with the navigable waters of the Willamette, whenever the necessities of the country require it and its wealth is sufficient to construct it.

South of the Valley of the Umpqua are the Umpqua Mountains, running nearly parallel with the Calapooiah Mountains, and separating this Valley from the Valley of Rogue's River. The distance across them is fourteen miles. They are high, very steep and somewhat broken, but not rocky, and covered with forests of Fir so dense that they entirely prevent the growth of grass.

South of this range is the Valley of Rogue's River, having the same course with the Valley of the Umpqua, and being about twenty-five miles wide. Its general character is much like that of the Umpqua, but it is more level, has a soil of a rather better quality, and is also covered with good grass. On the North side, where the California trail crosses the Valley, it is principally wooded; on the South, Prairie. Immediately above, the proportion of prairie and timber is very good. Here, as in the Umpqua Valley, the timber is on the streams, and the prairies are between them. There is, in the Valley, quite a considerable quantity of granite; but basaltic is the most prevalent rock. The Valley appears to widen above; its

length is not known. It is traversed by Rogue's River; a stream somewhat larger than the Umpqua, and not so rapid, but that it might probably be made useful for transportation. Salmon ascend the River in great numbers; and so do they, indeed, most of the streams throughout the whole territory of Oregon. Water power is not wanting in the Valley of Rogue's River. A few miles below the California trail, the River appears to enter a canyon, and the Mountains along the coast are high and rugged, so as to prevent advantageous communication with the Sea-Board. The Indians who inhabit this Valley are numerous, and almost in a state of nature. They are of small stature, but well proportioned—slender, active and sensible. They have never had any intercourse, of consequence, with the whites, and have, therefore, but few of the articles manufactured by a civilized people. From their extreme hostility and treachery, and from the great amount of damage they have done to the white man, they have been almost universally called the Rascals. They seldom allow a company to pass, without molestation. They attack from ambuscades, made in defiles, chasms, and thickets. They have no firearms, their principal weapons being the bow and arrow. Their bows are made of the wood of the Yew tree; short, and covered on the back with the sinews from the loins of the Elk, which are fastened on with glue, and neatly and securely wrapped at the ends with the same material. Their arrows are feathered and pointed with small, delicate, uniform, and very sharp heads of flint. These arrows they shoot with great force and precision. They seldom have horses, and if they take or kill an animal in their attacks, (which they endeavor to do as much as to take the lives of the men,) they afterwards cook and eat it, making a great feast.

South of the Rogue's River Valley is the Chesty Mountain, a single, and almost bald and barren ridge. To the

right of the California trail it bears a little to the South, and interlocks with the Mountains on the coast. The Northern base is covered with timber; the summit and Southern side, in many places, with large boulders of granite. The distance across is six miles. Going towards the South the ascent is gradual—the descent rather steep, but a very good road might be made across into the Clamuth or Chesty Valley, which lies immediately South of the Chesty Mountain, and has nearly the same course with the Valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue's River. This Valley of the Clamuth is about thirty miles wide where the California trail crosses it. It decreases in width below and increases above. It is traversed by the Clamuth River, a stream still larger than Rogue's River, but full of rocks, rapids, and narrows; and passing through the Mountains of the coast, it appears to run through a narrow canyon, affording no outlet from the Valley to the Pacific. The soil of this Valley is generally of a very inferior quality, but along the streams, and at the foot of the Mountain, it is good. The rest is a kind of dry, light, dusty and sandy land, producing but little vegetation. The surface of the Valley is generally quite level, and a large portion of it is open. There are a few scattering Oaks, in places through it, and some Pine; but the timber is, principally, the Fir growing along at the base, and on the sides of the Mountains. The Clamuth Indians are numerous and quite hostile. Their character and condition is much the same as that of the Rascals. This Valley is situated near the parallel of 42 deg., and we are not quite certain whether it is in Oregon or California.

These Southern Valleys of Oregon, though in their present state of nature so lonely, so wild, and so secluded; though they now threaten the travelers who pass, at intervals of years, with dangers from the rugged mountain path, the swollen torrent, and the savage arrow, though

many a gloomy glen and rocky gorge and dark and tangled wood which have been stained with conflict or storied by some savage ambuscade, still stand to awaken terror in the passer-by; yet, these Valleys, notwithstanding their wildness and dangers, offer inducements, (deadly to the fated native,) for which, ere long, the stronger hand of the white man will beat back the present wild and implacable inhabitants, and make them the homes of civilization. Each of these Valleys is probably of sufficient extent to make several large counties; and, but for their detached position and their being so separated from the sea-board as they are, or appear to be, they would doubtless be the most desirable part of the Oregon Territory. The general fertility of the soil is favorable to the agriculturist; the richness of the grasses, to the stockraiser; the vast beds and piles of stone, and the broad forests of the giant Fir, to the mechanic; while the unfailing abundance of water in the Rivers and creeks, pouring over numerous falls and rapids, present inducements highly favorable to the manufacturer. Occupying a position between where the Winter rains of Oregon and the Summer droughts of California are occasionally severe, they possess a climate which, mingling these two opposite evils, destroys them and thus renders these secluded Valleys, in this respect, the most desirable portion of these most desirable climes. But they are so much as nature made them, and so wild that many portions of them have never been trodden by the foot of the white man, and it may be when time and the bold enterprise of our Western adventurers shall develop more fully the character and resources of these mountain-wrapped solitudes, that there may be found a Pass which nature has provided as a way for commerce through her barriers; and from the sides of the mountains and from the bosom of the plains, may be drawn additional materials to add to the necessaries and comforts of man

and to aid the march of civilization. It is possible that this portion of Oregon will be acquired from the natives, in the same manner that portions of the United States have already been acquired — by force. And should it be so acquired, and when judgment comes upon the conqueror for conquest, there will be none upon whom it will fall more lightly, for there are no people who deserve more justly punishment for “all manner of wickedness” than the natives of the Rogue’s River and Clamuth Valleys.

Not much attention has yet been paid to the North side of the Columbia by American settlers, owing to the uncertainty in regard to the claims of the two Powers that hold it in dispute; but notwithstanding this uncertainty, a small settlement has been formed by persons from the United States about twenty miles above Vancouver, on the North side of the River, in the confident belief that the United States Government would never relinquish any portion of her just rights. In several respects it is superior to the South. Immediately on the River it affords many more and better situations for settlement. At the falls of the Columbia, which must, in time become a place of some importance, the North side only can be improved. As the navigation extends forty miles above the Falls, and entirely through the Cascade Mountains, over which a good road cannot probably be made; a canal around the Falls will be a project which will deeply interest that whole country, as it will probably be the only means to facilitate the intercourse between the different portions of country lying above and below the Cascade Mountains, and the ingress and egress from and to the United States; and a canal can only be made, with any reasonable expense, on the North side. The vast amount of water power which the Falls will afford can be rendered available with profit only on the North side. Cape Disappointment, which can

be made almost as impregnable as the Rock of Gibraltar, and which entirely commands the entrance of the River, frowning down on the channel which washes its base, is also on the North side.

Puget's Sound, which is cut by the parallel of 49 deg., and is said to be surrounded by a very beautiful country of considerable extent, in point of spaciousness, safety and facility of access is the second harbor on the Western shores of America. The general character of the country is similar to that on the South, excepting that its Valleys are not so large, and the mountainous and hilly portions occupy a greater extent. Like the Valley of Willamette, the Valleys on the North side of the Columbia, are diversified with forest and plain. There is little or no difference in the soil, and the grass is equally fine. On the streams that empty into the Columbia, and their tributaries, there are many Falls and Cascades; which affords excellent sites for machinery, to an almost unlimited extent. On the Cowlitz, which is the largest falling into the Columbia from the North, below the Cascade Mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company have a Saw Mill, and there is, at the same place, a small French settlement, which has been connected with them; but their term of service having expired, they were permitted by the Company to remain in the country, (the contract of the Company with them is to return them at the expiration of their term of service to their own countries. This is done in order to prevent competition). They are engaged in agriculture and furnish, annually, several thousand bushels of wheat, to supply the Russian contract. Their wheat is boated down the Cowlitz, in bateaus; but the rapidity of the stream, renders the navigation difficult and tedious. This settlement is fifty miles above the mouth of the stream. The Valley, here, is not half so large as that of the Willamette; but it is, nevertheless, entirely sufficient

to accomodate quite large settlements. There are many other smaller streams emptying into the Columbia from the north; on all of which there are Valleys back from the River. The timber is more abundant on the North, and of rather a better quality.

Twenty-five miles North from Vancouver, and about opposite the mouth of the Willamette, Mount St. Helens, a lofty snow-capped Volcano rises from the plain, and is now burning. Frequently, the huge columns of black smoke may be seen, suddenly bursting from its crater, at the distance of thirty or forty miles. The crater is on the South side, below the summit. The Cowlitz River has its source in Mount St. Helens.

On the Columbia, in most places, the hills, which are generally high, frequently steep and broken, and covered with dense forests, come in on both sides, close to the water, leaving only small bottoms in the bends of the stream. Some of these bottoms, however, are large enough for several good farms. On the North side, for many miles above and below Vancouver, the bottoms are of considerable width. The hills are low, and rise gradually back, for some miles, affording room for large settlements. At the mouth of the Columbia, on the South side, is the Clatsop plain, extending along the coast; and from a mere point, at the Southern extremity, it increases in width, until it reaches the River, where it is about five miles wide. This plain is very sandy, and produces fine garden vegetables; but is fit for little else. It has probably been made by the deposits of the Columbia, thrown back by the waves of the Ocean. It is traversed by several sand ridges, like waves, running exactly parallel with the coast. As the Columbia approaches its mouth, it widens out into broad bays; which, excepting a single channel, are full of shallows and sand bars; many of which are entirely bare at low tide.

About twenty miles above Astoria there is a large cluster of low Islands, called the Catalammet Islands, several miles in extent; which are covered with Cotton Wood and Willows, and are overflowed by high tide. They are several hundred in number, and are separated by as many shallow channels, some of which are as wide as the main channel, and into which persons who were not acquainted with the River have frequently run, and have been lost among the shallows for many hours. A few miles below these Islands, on the North side, there is a singular Rock, standing immediately in the channel, and rising above high water about twenty feet. It appears at a distance, like an artificial Pillar, and has been called Pillar Rock. A few miles below this Pillar, the River is fifteen miles wide; and the channel, leaving the North side, bears across in nearly a straight line, to Tongue Point, which is several hundred feet high, extending out into the River; in the shape of a tongue, about half a mile, and commanding, most perfectly, the channel which washes its base.

Astoria, situated on the South side of the Columbia, twelve miles above its mouth, is generally known as being the first place which was settled on that River. It contains only a few houses, and is occupied as a Trading Post by the Hudson's Bay Company, and now called by them Fort George. Some of the hearthstones of the old Trading House of Mr. Astor may still be seen. This will probably eventually be the principal commercial place in Oregon; as it is the best situation between Tongue Point and the mouth of River, and as there are on the bar, at Tongue Point, only three fathoms water, while on the bar at the mouth there are five. The River, at the mouth, is four miles wide, and the entrance is obstructed by a large bar, upon which the waves of the Ocean, (excepting in the channel,) break with great violence. The flying sheets of foam may be seen from Astoria, and the roaring

may be heard for a much greater distance. The point of land on the South is low and sandy and is called Point Adams; that on the North, is a high perpendicular rock, and as heretofore said, is called Cape Disappointment. The channel comes around close to the foot of the rock, so that it has entire command of that entrance of the River. Since the wreck of the Peacock upon these breakers this entrance has been considered by many in the States as extremely dangerous, but not so with those who are acquainted with the channel. All admit, however, that it is necessary to have a fair wind, and weather sufficiently clear to observe the land marks, to avoid danger, as the channel is narrow. With these, together with a correct knowledge of the place, we doubt not but that a thousand vessels, were they sailed by men of skill and judgment, might enter the mouth of the Columbia and not one be lost. In the case of the Peacock, it is said that the Captain mistook the bar for the channel and struck before he discovered his mistake. We believe that strongly constructed and powerful tow boats, directed by experienced pilots, would overcome this obstruction as effectually as the same means do that at the mouth of the Mississippi. When vessels have accomplished an entrance they find a safe harbor and good anchorage in Baker's Bay just within Cape Disappointment; and farther up, above, below and opposite Astoria—in the main channel of the River. The bad character which the mouth of the Columbia gained by the unfortunate accident which happened to Lieutenant Wilkes, then Commander of the United States Exploring Squadron in the Pacific, has since affected, materially and deeply, the prosperity of that infant Colony; and not the Colony alone, but also the interests of the numerous Whalers which are, in every direction, in every latitude and longitude, constantly traversing the broad bosom of this Ocean of Oceans; since it has certainly been the great

cause to discourage an intercourse which would otherwise have been commenced, and carried on, to the great advantage of both. This character, which has been and still is so extremely detrimental, is in a great degree, unmerited and incorrect.

The coast South from Cape Look Out,² (twenty miles South of the mouth of the Columbia,) to the Umpqua, is generally rugged and mountainous. There are some small valleys on the intermediate streams; but none of sufficient extent to demand attention. At Cape Look Out, which is a lofty and frowning rock extending into the sea, there are extensive sands and a vast rock rising out of the water, called Kilamoox Head, upon which, when the wind is high from the West, the Ocean waves dash and break in such fury, that the roaring may be distinctly heard in the Willamette Valley.

The Indians, West of the Cascade Mountains, are divided into numerous small bands, and many of them without any acknowledged head. There were once, on the waters of the Columbia, the Willamette, and along the shores of the Ocean, powerful tribes, but pestilence and disease, since the coming of the white man, have swept them rapidly away, until but a few poor, wretched, degraded beings, beyond the reach of charity, remain. Once Chenamus, a proud, intelligent, and influential Chief of the Chenooks, held sway over all the tribes between the shores of the Pacific and the Cascades and between the Umpqua and Puget's Sound, and extended his influence beyond the Mountains. But, after his death, his place was never filled; and now, the bones of his people are scattered upon the rock and hills, and their dwelling places are their graves. The bones of hundreds, perhaps thousands, lay heaped up promiscuously together. And

² Cape Lookout is sixty miles farther south.— ED. QUARTERLY.

every isolated rock that rises out of the Columbia is covered with the canoes of the dead. They are nearly all gone, and disease is still sweeping the miserable remnant away, so that, in a few more years, there will not be a single red man west of the Cascades, on the waters of the Columbia.

The Indians of this lower country are generally smaller and not so well formed as the generality of the Natives of America. They have but few horses, travel mostly in their canoes, and live upon fish, fowls, and roots. Their houses are constructed of slabs, split out of Cedar, hewn and set upon end, around a frame of poles, and covered with bark. The Indians are very filthy in their habits, and almost destitute of clothing. The stench arising from the filth about their villages in the fishing season is almost insupportable. They are superior water-men, manage their canoes with the greatest dexterity, and are very expert in fishing. On the Columbia they fish with seines (such as are used in the United States). At the Falls they build scaffolds, out from the rocks, near to the falling water, and use a sort of dip net, fastened on a long staff. They use spears, where a seine cannot be drawn, and in the night they fish with hooks fastened on a pole, which they immerse deep into the water, and when they feel anything touch the pole, they jerk it up quickly and generally bring out a fish. This mode of fishing is practiced only during the season in which the Salmon are ascending the streams, and immediately below some great waterfall, where they collect in immense numbers. All the fish that are exported from Oregon are caught by the Indians. Their canoes are the finest we ever saw; they are made of the large white Cedar, hewn out with great labor. They are constructed with a high bow and stern, which are separate from the main vessel, and so neatly put on, that the joints will not admit water. They are

very light, and the edges are ornamented with Sea Shells. These people are also ingenious in the manufacture of mats of rushes, and hats and baskets of grass. Some of their baskets are water tight, and many of them are ornamented with devices of beasts, birds, and flowers, worked in various colors. The religion of these Indians is much the same as that of the other tribes of America. They believe in one Superior Presiding Influence, which they call the Great High Chief. They believe also in an Evil Spirit, and in numerous inferior Spirits, both good and evil, which inhabit the earth and air, and are invisible or assume the form of smoke or vapor: the evil Spirits afflicting mankind with misfortunes, disease, and death. They also believe in the Spiritualization of beasts, birds and fish, and even of their clothes, ornaments, canoes, tools, implements of war, etc.; of fruits, flowers, and numerous other inanimate things; and we are inclined to the belief that they extend this Spiritualization to all organized bodies. It is on account of this opinion that they bury their dead in their canoes, with many of the articles which belonged to them, while living—such as arms, clothing, ornaments, etc.—and furnish them with a supply of food, which they suppose sufficient to last them to the Spirit Land. For the same reason a horse or a dog is frequently butchered beside the grave of a hunter. The Spirits of all of which things, according to their opinion, will be required for their comfort and subsistence when they themselves have come to be disembodied Spirits. They are in many respects very superstitious: one instance of which is shown in the removal of a large stone, which lay in the way of some men who were taking saw-logs into the River, a mile below Oregon City. The workmen were about to remove it, when they were forbidden by some of the Indians, and told that it was once a man, and if they removed it, the River would rise up to it. They, however, removed it, and it

happened that soon after the River rose higher than it had ever been known, which accidental circumstance was attributed by them to the removal of the stone, and of course strengthened their superstition. They have what they term Medicine-men, in whom they place great confidence, and suppose that they possess the power by means of charms to counteract the influence of evil Spirits, and to drive them away. They are called to exercise their charms in every case of sickness. They blow their breath upon the body, rub it, and press upon the stomach. After continuing this for some time, they pretended to have drawn something from the patient; they press it in their hands, and appear to hold it with the greatest difficulty, immerse it in the water, and continue alternately to rub and immerse it, until the evil Spirit is overpowered. Then, holding the clenched hands above the head, several loud shouts are uttered in as frightful a manner as they are able. They then open their fingers gradually, to allow the terrified Scocum, (evil spirit,) to make his escape—blow through their hands—continue to utter fearful cries, and to make threatening gestures—until they have driven the agent of evil entirely away. They go through the same operation, until they have drawn the last little devil from the body of the patient, and driven it away. All the time these incantations are going on a number of persons sitting in a row beside the sick, chanting their savage song, beat constantly and loudly with sticks upon a large dry board. These Medicine-men are supposed to be invulnerable, and lead the van to battle. They frequently exhibit proofs of their magic powers, at their dances and celebrations, by holding live coals of fire between their fingers for several minutes at a time. They are held accountable for the success of anything which they undertake, and if a person dies in their hands, or if they lose an engagement, they are tried for their lives. When a

Chief, or member of a Chief's family, or other notable person dies, they are placed in their canoes, with their blankets, arms and other implements, which they used while living, hung to a bough of a tree, or placed upon a rock, and a favorite horse, and sometimes several slaves, are killed to bear the soul of the dead to the world of Spirits. Slavery exists in the lower country.

These Indians are great gamblers, and they have several games, the form of which we are not able correctly to describe. They play until all their property is gone, and then frequently gamble off their bodies, part at a time, until the whole is lost, and they are slaves for life. Marriage, among the Indians, is rather a mercenary transaction, than otherwise. It is true, perhaps, that there is a choice in some instances; but generally whoever pays the highest price takes the woman. Polygamy is universally practiced, and some of the Chiefs have as many as ten wives. The wealth of an individual is estimated frequently by the number of his wives. The women here, as well as with all other barbarous tribes and nations, do all the hard labor; hunting, fishing, and war being the only duties of the man. But the Indians between the Umpqua and Puget's Sound are at this time anything else but warlike. The time no doubt has been when they were, but they have degenerated as fast as they decreased in numbers, until they have, in every sense of the terms, become inactive and feeble. Perhaps nowhere on the great American Continent, on either side of the Isthmus of Panama, has their intercourse with the white man been more ruinous to them than it has here. It is, however, no less strange than true and deplorable, that wherever the white man has had intercourse with the Indian, almost without an exception, it has tended both morally and physically to degrade, sink, and destroy him. The different tribes differ from each other very much in their lan-

guage. They have not a great many words, and almost every one is uttered with a strong guttural sound. They count to ten, and afterwards by tens and hundreds. These are the Flathead Indians, and we believe the only Tribe that practice this singular custom upon the Continent of America, or upon the surface of the globe. How it has happened that the name has been given to a Tribe inhabiting a country upon the upper part of that branch of the Columbia, commonly known in the States by the name of Clarke's River, and separated by several hundred miles from the only people who are known to have ever practiced this custom, we are unable to imagine. Some ignorance and mistake, however, have thus widely misplaced the name, and instead of having given it to those whose most unnatural fancy would have rendered it highly appropriate, they have wrongly designated by it a people whose heads are as round as our own. The same error has likewise been committed in giving to a Tribe inhabiting a country on the North side of Snake River the name of Nez Pierce, to whom the custom of piercing the nose is not at all peculiar, but which is practiced extensively by the Tribes along the coast, all of whom are separated from these who bear the name by a distance of two or three hundred miles, and between whom the lofty range of the Cascade Mountains, (which intervenes,) admits but little intercourse. The custom of piercing the nose, for the purpose of wearing in it shells, quills, rings, etc., is practiced somewhat by all the aboriginal inhabitants of America. But with the Tribes inhabiting these shores of the Pacific it has been almost universal and is still so with some. With those, however, who have had much intercourse with the whites, this, together with the custom of flattening the head, is beginning to be less observed.

The custom of flattening the head originated, probably, in the idea, that it was unbecoming the dignity of a mas-

ter to wear the same appearance as the slave, and as garbs and insignia were perishable, or subject to be wrested from them, it seems that they determined to put on different and, of course, as they were superior, more beautiful heads. And perhaps the circumstance, that their slaves were to accompany them, and serve them in another world—the land of spirits—was considered by them an additional reason, why they should imprint indelibly, even on their very existence, a sure indication and record of their own superiority; lest perchance, the master might be mistaken for the slave, and to the slave might be awarded the privileges of the master; lest the proud master, who in this world was accustomed to grant his servant life, or bid him die, might, by mistake, in Heaven be compelled, himself, to suffer and to serve; might be compelled to dig the spirit-roots and gather spirit-berries, from the bogs and briers of heaven, and to bare [*sic*] around the Portages or paddle along the Rivers, the ghost of his own, nobleman's canoe, for a vile slave; lest, in the fair land of spirits, his free-born shade might be, through mistake, compelled to bare such like ignoble spirit burthens, and toil, and sweat, and tremble, at the will of a vile creature of the Great High Chief of Spirits, whom he before had been accustomed to command; lest such misfortunes might come upon him, by the too great natural resemblance, between himself and his slave, it is probable that he was more strongly induced to lay aside the servile-looking head, which silly nature gave him, and put on a more beautiful one of his own wise fashioning. If this be not correct, it is at least surely very much in the character of man; and if it be, it is not confined to the Flatheads, alone, nor is it peculiar to the ignorant and uncultivated barbarian. The actions of civilized and enlightened barbarians, speak with the same import. This operation of flattening the head, is performed when the

child is very young, while the cranium is yet soft, and somewhat pliable. It nevertheless requires a long time to complete it. It must be effected very gradually, and the pressure must be continued upon the skull, until it has acquired a degree of hardness, sufficient to retain the shape which has been given. The object is to press back the forehead, which, when the operation is completed, is generally about parallel with the nose. In effecting this, the back part of the head is also somewhat compressed. This object is accomplished by binding a small board, or any other hard plane substance, closely upon the forehead, so as to press in the required direction. The child itself is lashed to a board, in such a manner as to favor the securing of the flattening plane, in the necessary position, and to prevent the child from strangling. This operation, although so unnatural, so confining, and affecting an organ so delicate as the brain, and though performed upon such tender years, does not, however, appear to produce pain. Mortality does not appear to be greater among the Flathead children than among the adults, in comparison with that of other Indian Tribes. Neither does the flattening of the head appear, in the least degree, to affect the mind. Slaves, born among them, whose heads are not flattened, are the same, in every respect, pertaining to the mind, as far as it is possible to determine. In disposition, passion, intellect, and in their whole character, as far as different individuals are alike, they are alike. But it is probable that this practice will soon become extinct, if not from the abandonment of the custom, at least from the extinction of the race.

In the climate of Western Oregon, we find one of the principal advantages which this country, together with the whole Western coast of the Continent, possesses over those portions laying East of the great mountain range, which, extending from within the Arctic circle, divides the Con-

continent into two Grand Divisions, different, not only in their geographical features, but also in climate and vegetation. The climate of Western Oregon is milder by several degrees, than it is between the same parallels of latitude in the States. Snow seldom falls in the Valleys South of the Columbia, and during our stay at the Falls of the Willamette, which embraced two Winter seasons, there were only two falls of snow; (with equal and perhaps greater propriety, we might call that portion of the year included between the first or middle of November, and the last of March, the rainy season;) the first of these snows was six or eight inches deep, and remained upon the ground about three days; the second, which continued to fall at intervals, during a week, passed away almost as fast as it fell, never concealing, entirely, the surface of the ground. During the period of our stay, we never saw ice on any of the streams of water, yet it has been stated that since the location of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, the Columbia River has been twice closed over at that place. If this be a fact, it must be owing, in a great measure, to the circumstance that the Columbia has its sources in far Northern latitudes, and in high mountainous regions. On the Willamette, which flows from the South, such congelation has never been known. We were informed by persons long resident in the country, that rains were very frequent through the Winter or rainy season, but that great quantities seldom fell in short times. During the first Winter we were in the country, there were several weeks together of fine, clear, and most delightful weather, and besides this, several other shorter periods of cessation; but during the second, it rained almost constantly, yet so light were these rains, generally, that in order to convey correct ideas, propriety would seem to demand some other term to designate them. Taking the two seasons together, which we experienced there, we

doubt whether a greater quantity of water fell than falls generally in the same length of time, during the same months in the States. Many have expressed objections to the climate, on account of the rainy seasons, and it can not be denied that they frequently render it quite disagreeable and gloomy, especially to those who have just emigrated to the country. Yet most persons do their accustomed business at this season, whether it be in or out of doors, without seeming to experience any great inconvenience, or suffering detriment to their health. Southern winds prevail in the Willamette Valley, at this season, and when they change to the North they are usually succeeded by fine, clear weather. At the same time, however, they prevail from the East or change to the West on the Columbia, showing their course is affected very much by the hills and mountains. The clouds float low in the Winter, and frequently huge masses of them, as if influenced by attraction, cling to the sides of the hills and mountains, until as they move along, they are torn by the tops of the tall firs. We saw once as we were laying [sic] becalmed on the Columbia, in the dusk of the evening, the clouds descend from the mountain ravines, and settle down, for a while, so near the surface of the broad river, that the Islands with which it was there interspersed, and portions of the neighboring shores which were covered with groups of tall trees, penetrated with their tops above the cloud. Their seeming to be much elevated, together with the regularity of the upper surface of the cloud, awakened the idea of a beautiful little Archipelago, with all its Islands, floating in the air. The grass is green and growing throughout the Winter, and cattle and other animals keep in good condition, without any attention or feeding whatever, and we have frequently eaten excellent beef killed from the grass at this season. In the Summer there is probably not so much rain as in the United States, but it is entirely

sufficient to perfect the crops of grain, which, except Indian Corn, are more abundant, and surer, than in the United States. The temperature at this season is near the same that it is in the same latitude East of the Mountains, except the nights, which are quite cool during the whole year, so that a person may sleep in midsummer comfortably under a pair of blankets. These cool nights are doubtless injurious to the growth of Indian Corn, which does not flourish and produce abundantly in this country. The sky, through the Summer, is usually clear, and on the plains a gentle breeze is generally blowing from the sea, which renders the Summers remarkably agreeable and healthy. The natural vegetation of the country is all of a giant growth. We have spoken of the Fir's attaining to the height of three hundred feet; many others, of the smaller kinds of vegetation, are in the same proportion. We have seen the common Elder growing from six to twelve inches in diameter, and the Hazel very commonly from four to six inches. There are several different kinds of wild fruit in the country, which are not found in the United States, and several which are, although it is not more abundant here than in the States. The cultivated fruits common in the States, such as the apple, peach, and pear, appear to come to perfection, though but little attention has yet been paid to grafting and cultivation, consequently there is but little fruit of a good quality. The grape, although not a native of Oregon, and not found anywhere West of the Rocky Mountains, and North of 42 deg., in a wild state, having been planted at Vancouver, is said to produce well. The wheat grown in Oregon is of a very superior quality; the grain is larger, fuller, heavier, and in every way finer than that grown in the States. The quantity produced, with the same cultivation, on the same extent of ground, we also think, is something more, but the difference is greater in quality than

in quantity. The varieties of forest trees are not great; the Pine, Fir, White Cedar, Hemlock, and Oak being the principal. There are also some Maple, Ash, Alder, Dogwood, and Cherry, found along the watercourses. Thunder is seldom heard West of the Cascade Mountains, and storms and heavy winds are not prevalent. The Territory of Oregon has with great propriety been considered in three divisions. These divisions are natural and strongly marked, not only by the mountain ranges which separate them, but also by difference in soil and climate, and of course by different degrees of productiveness, and by a different general appearance. That portion of the Territory lying between these mountain ranges, (the Cascade and Blue Mountains,) is, under the above division, the middle portion, but is generally known in that country under the name of the Walawala Valley. Under this name we have previously noticed it, and thus we will designate this division wherever it comes in the course of our remarks. The climate of the Walawala Valley differs from that of Western Oregon, in being much dryer and somewhat colder. It appears strange that between two portions of country situated in the same latitude, and separated only by a range of mountains, the difference of climate should be so marked. We will not pretend to account for this difference, but will suggest that the elevation of the Walawala Valley above the Valleys of Western Oregon, together with the circumstance of its being much farther from the Ocean, and separated from its influence by a very lofty range of mountains might make the difference. This climate, together with the dry and sandy character of the greater portion of the soil, and the richness of the grasses which they produce, renders this portion of Oregon above all others highly favorable to grazing; and it is in our opinion especially adapted, on these accounts, to the raising of sheep. As we have before

remarked, the grass springs up here also, in Autumn, and is green and frequently growing through the Winter, so that animals require no other food. The almost entire absence of timber in the Walawala Valley is attributable to the dry and sandy nature, and to the insufficiency of the soil. The few Cotton Wood and Willow trees which line the margins of some of the streams and rivers, and the Pines which grow at the base of the Mountains, are all the timber which the Valley affords. Where the soil along the streams and near the mountains is rich, the climate favors the production of wheat, rye, oats, etc., the common garden vegetables, and is supposed to be more congenial to the growth of Indian Corn than that of Western Oregon. Corn has been grown for some years in small quantities at Dr. Whitman's Mission, and some of the Walawala Indians have been induced to cultivate small patches of it. But the ears we saw were small, and the quantity produced has also been small, and we are confident of our correctness in saying, that there is no portion of Oregon in which this grain can be profitably produced. The climate of the Walawala Valley, and everything else connected with it; the dryness of its soil, the purity of its waters, and the vicinity of snow covered peaks, are certainly highly favorable to health; and in proof of its healthfulness we have the testimony of those who have resided in it as Traders, or Missionaries, for a number of years, and not only the testimony of words, but also of appearance.

The remaining portion of the Territory of Oregon — the Eastern portion — we have sufficiently noticed in passing through it. Very much the largest portion of Eastern Oregon is at present and must continue for a great number of years to be comparatively valueless. It is a desert, so rugged, so dreary, and so exceedingly sterile that it cannot, until ages have melted its mountains, until the winds

and floods and changes of thousands and thousands of years shall have crumbled into dust its rocks and its sands, yield anything worthy of consideration to the support of human life. There are, however, some beautiful exceptions to this general character; bright and blooming valleys, walled with mountains, and surrounded by wastes, which, contrasting so widely with everything about them, are regarded by the lonely traveler as being not only wildly romantic, but surpassingly beautiful. These, however, are rare. The traveler through that dreary region will cling to the summit of many a barren height and traverse many a sun scorched plain ere the green Oasis glads his eyes.

Those who have emigrated to the country have had uncommonly good health. Notwithstanding the great exposures which the Emigrations of 1843 and 1844 were necessarily subjected to in making and after having made a long and toilsome journey through a wild and desert wilderness, in preparing shelters from the rains and obtaining the means of subsistence, there were fewer instances of sickness in either than is common among a like number of people in the most healthy portions of the United States. But to describe the climate of Oregon with the greatest exactness, in the fewest words, is, we think, to compare it to France; which, laying between precisely the same parallels of latitude, and occupying exactly the same position on the Eastern Continent that Oregon does on the Western, boasts a climate which has long since and universally been acknowledged one of the finest on the Globe. The situation of Oregon in regard to commerce every one who knows anything about the geography of the world is already acquainted with. Its location is convenient to all the shores and Islands of the Pacific, the Western portions of South America, and as all the numerous groups of Islands of the great Pacific are ready of

access, they will furnish much for profitable commerce, as they lie mostly in the tropics.

The people who have emigrated to Oregon have organized a Government, deeming it right and necessary, situated as they were, in an Indian country, and so far removed from the influence of any law; not only as a means of personal safety from the natives, if they were disposed to be hostile, but also, for the protection of life and property, against evil-doers among themselves; and for the distribution of equal justice in all their intercourse with each other. This Government, however, is intended only to be temporary, and subject to the disposition of the Government of the United States, whenever she extends her jurisdiction over the Territory. The people of Oregon, generally, have no disposition to set up an independent government; but on the contrary, they are exceedingly anxious to be taken into the care and under the protection of the United States. They expect to receive grants from the government and under this expectation, they have all located land claims of a section each; and these claims are of course respected and protected by the existing provisional government. This government was organized in 1843, and previous to the arrival of our Emigration. The citizens met in convention, and elected an Executive Committee of three, which had the powers of a Governor, a Legislative Committee of nine, a Judge, Recorder, Treasurer, Sheriff, four Justices of Peace, and as many Constables. Military Officers were also elected, and several companies of Militia organized. They made a short code of written laws, defining the duties and powers of the different officers, and adopted the Laws of Iowa so far as they would apply to their condition. They regulated the taking of land claims, determining who might hold claims, and defining what steps should be necessary in order that persons might be secure

in the possession of lands. They limited these land claims by the same authority by which they laid them, (Senator Linn's Bill,) to six hundred and forty acres, and made any person laying two claims, liable to loose either. In order to hold a claim they made it necessary that the corners of the land, should be marked; and that a description of it should be entered upon the books of the Territorial Recorder; and the temporary government agreed to protect these land claims against all other claimants, except the United States of America. The Missionaries residing in the Willamette Valley, who took an active part in the organization; besides the claims allowed them as individuals, succeeded in obtaining, in the name of the Mission, thirty-six square miles, and in the best portion of the Willamette Valley. The succeeding Legislature, however, disregarded it, and all except the usual claim allowed to individuals, was liable to be taken by any one who might wish it. This government was extended over all the country between the parallels of 42 deg. and 54 deg. 40 min. North latitude, and West of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and made a residence of six months necessary to Citizenship. The second Legislature, elected by order of the Executive Committee, made a law, prohibiting the making and selling ardent spirits, in the Territory, except for Medical purposes; and likewise, a Law prohibiting the residence of negroes in the country, after the expiration of three years; and levied a tax upon the people for the construction of roads and the defraying of expenses unavoidable in the transaction of the Government. They have endeavored to protect the rights of the Indians, and promote peace and harmony between them and the settlers; and no disturbance of a general nature has ever occurred between them, and an Indian war, in all probability will never interrupt the tranquillity of the Willamette Valley. The

temporary government is acknowledged and supported by the great majority of the people, and is constantly gaining strength and character. None of the members of the Hudson's Bay Company took an active part in the organization of this Government; yet we believe that Dr. McLaughlin was present at the Convention. Since, however, many of those persons whom the Hudson's Bay Company have settled in the country, have been induced, by the influence of members of the Company, to vote at elections. Many of the individuals connected with the Company, among whom is Dr. McLaughlin himself, have preferred to avail themselves of the benefit of the Laws, to become subject to them and to pay the taxes levied by the Legislative Committee. One of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company was appointed by the Executive, to the office of Treasurer of the temporary Government, and he accepted and served in that capacity. But little difficulty has yet occurred in its administration, and only two instances of resistance against the Laws, in both of which the authorities were successful and order was maintained. Private difficulties have but seldom occurred, and there is more harmony in this society than we have ever known or heard of, in any other part of the world. This happy circumstance is attributed principally to the general absence of intoxicating liquors, which is a state of things unprecedented in the settlement of a new country, and speaks loudly in favor of the moral character of the people of Oregon.

Many speculations have been indulged in since the first discovery of America, much research made, and many opinions offered as to the manner in which it became peopled. We have, in the course of our travels, become acquainted with some facts which may possibly throw light upon this subject. It may be that the facts which have induced us to form our opinion have been given to the public by others, and long since, but if they have, as

we have never seen them, we beg leave to throw our opinion into the scale. The most commonly received opinion is, we believe, that the first inhabitants came across from the Northern part of Asia, at Berring's Straits, where the distance between the shores of the two Continents is but short. This opinion, though it is very plausible, and, in fact, probable, as regards America, can not account for the peopling of many of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean far removed from the shores of either Continent. It is our opinion that the Western shores, if not the Continent of America and all the inhabited Islands of the Pacific, have been peopled from China and Japan. It is now known, with as much certainty, as are any existences or transactions, of which we have been informed by ancient history that the Chinese Empire has been in existence, that its people have been in many respects enlightened, and that records have been made and kept by them for several thousand years past. They had vessels in which they went to sea, but not having an extensive knowledge of navigation, they never ventured far from land; it, however, sometimes happened that they were blown off to a great distance, at sea, became lost and bewildered, and were left to the mercy of the wind and waves; in this condition we believe that these lost vessels have been driven and cast upon the shores of our Continent, and upon the inhabited Islands of the Pacific, where the people who thus saved themselves have increased and made the aborigines of this Continent, and those Islands, and that being discouraged by the improbability of their ever regaining their native country, and destitute of all their accustomed means of improvement they have descended, in the course of ages, into their present state of barbarism. None can object to this theory, on account of the diversity of features, complexion, and languages, who hold that the human race have descended

from one common parentage, since time and circumstances may have wrought a change in this case, as well as in that. The circumstances which lead us to this opinion are these: about fifty years ago, as we were informed by different gentlemen, connected with the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, and previous to their establishment in that country a Japanese Junk was cast upon the North West coast of Oregon; the people who saved themselves from the wreck were taken and enslaved by the Indians, and were found among them by the Company's Traders in that condition. They endeavored to purchase them from their masters, but were unable to obtain them at any reasonable price. The Company, after the expiration of several years, found it necessary to employ a steamer to collect their furs on this coast, and instructed the master upon its arrival to obtain, if possible, the Japanese slaves. The Indians, whose villages were near the Sea shore, were at the time of the Steamer's arrival on that coast, many of them, out in their canoes, some distance from land. As soon as they perceived her they fled for the shore, and the steamer pursuing, so terrified them that they not only abandoned their canoes, but their villages also, and fled *en masse* to the mountains, leaving not only the Japanese, but every thing else behind them. The Japanese were taken on board the steamer, conveyed to Fort Vancouver, and sent from there to their native country. And beside this, there are the remains of a wreck, near Cape Look Out, at which the Indians have frequently collected beeswax, which was thrown out on the beach by the surf; and it is the general impression that this also was a Japanese or Chinese vessel. The Indians have some strange and mysterious traditions concerning this wreck, but we were not able to learn any thing definite from them, concerning its character, of the time of its destruction, but it is evidently many years since it was lost. We know of no account of

the loss of any such vessel from any of the Commercial nations of the world, and it is, at least probable that this also was driven from the shores of the Eastern Continent, and if this were the case, here then are two instances in which people have been cast upon the Western shores of America, from China or Japan, perhaps from both; two instances by which, had the Continent been at those times without inhabitants, it would or might have been peopled. And since the Chinese Empire has been in existence so long, and since they have been in many respects so long enlightened, why may not this have happened thousands as well as fifty or an hundred years ago? and why may it not have happened before this Continent was inhabited, and they have been the parents of the present aborigines?

The scenery in Oregon is varied, romantic, picturesque, and grand. There is certainly nothing to equal it in North America, East of the Rocky Mountains; and, although much has been said of the beauty and grandeur of the scenery of Switzerland, we doubt if any thing can be there found to equal it; taking into view the rich, extensive, and flowery plains, surrounded by tall and heavy forests of ever-green, watered by many large and living streams, flowing sometimes smooth and gentle, then rapid and again precipitating, in broad and heavy sheets, down immense perpendicular Falls. There may be, some where on the earth's whole surface, some spot which can equal in the mighty grandness of its scenery, the mountains, the valleys, and the shores of Oregon; but if there be, 'tis vast, 'tis beautiful, 'tis grand indeed. Let the beholder stand upon the green summit of one of the high isolated hills, that rise from the plain in the upper Willamette, and what a prospect! The imagination that has been accustomed only to the level surface and dull monotony of the Valley of the Mississippi, must be stretched to its utmost to comprehend the mighty picture. The fair Val-

ley of the Willammette, with its hills and its vales, its forests and its plains, is spread out before you. To the East, and extending as far as the eye can reach to the North and South, the Cascades, in one lofty, unbroken range, rise mountain upon mountain and forest over forest, until their highest peaks, wrapped in eternal snow and white as the unsullied flake in the storm of Winter, stand high and giddy, far above the clouds. At your feet you can see the Willammette, meandering down the wide fertile Valley, and can trace afar the course of the broad Columbia, winding through its forest-crested hills; and further to the North St. Helens shows her towering crater of eternal fire; and further still the eye is lost in the wide labyrinth of dark and clustering heights in distance indistinct. Away to the South the peering summits of some lofty chain are dimly drawn upon the sky. To the West you hear the distant Ocean's sullen roar, as its waves, with crash tremendous, break upon its rock-bound shores. The bright, clear blue above is cloudless; all beneath seems hushed in deep repose; even the loud Cataract's thunders wake not so far the circling waves of air: and save, perchance, the carol of a mountain bird, the breeze sighing to the leaves, and the heavy murmuring of the distant deep, all else is silent as it was upon the morn when God created it. Here may the imagination lift the veil which hides the future and peer into the destinies of this fair land: As it runs over the wide prospect, it peoples it with thousands and thousands of busy inhabitants, sees every plain checked with fields, and even the steep and rugged Mountain-side made to yield to the hand of the husbandman; every where houses, gardens, orchards, and vineyards, scattered in countless multitudes over hill and valley; flocks and herds feeding on every hand; the broad highways coursing the valley or winding away over the hills, thronged with a busy concourse, all moving hur-

riedly to and fro, engaged in the avocations of a civilized life; sees villages, towns, and cities, with massive walls and glittering spires, which have risen above the mouldered huts of a departed race. It looks forward to the time when, where now the Indian, upon his jaded horse, is winding along the narrow and solitary trail, the powerful locomotive, with its heavy train, will fly along the rattling railway; when, instead of yon frail canoe, the proud steamer will dash along the majestic river; when that Ocean, now idly breaking on its cragged shores shall be whitened with the sails of Commerce, and when, amid the flags of an hundred nations, its own proud motto and device, resting on folds gemmed with images, whose bright originals bestud her skies, shall float proudly superior to them all; when, where now, there is little else than a wild wilderness, there shall be all the life—all the populous throng and bustle—all the stately magnificence—all the interests—all the intelligence—of the most active, proud and populous nations of the Old World. Imagination, peering into the far future, beholds enthroned upon an hundred heights, the lordly mansions of the opulent, surrounded with gardens, teeming with fruits and flowers; with parks and pools and groves of ornamental trees; and far up the sides of the surrounding mountains, the herds-men's and the shepherd's humble cottages repose in sweet and solitary quiet, deep buried amid the mountain pines. And still, yielding to a more romantic mood, the imagination, excited by every thing about it, and by its own wild pictures, cannot but come, in its dreamy wanderings, to the time when these mountains—these rivers—these verdant vales, when every rock, and hill, and cataract: when every forest, glade and glen: when every mountain gorge and precipice, and dark ravine, shall have been sung and storied, until they have grown old and honored by the Poet's pen, and the thrilling legends of the past.

But, looking beyond the snow-capped barrier, which bounds the vision to the East, the mind labors in vain to read, from the character of such dreary regions, what will be the future destiny of those wilds and wastes. Long may the lover of romantic scenes and adventures, find in them an ample scope for all his inclinations. Long may the Poet and writer of fiction, undetected, rear there the fabricks of their dreams, and people the green mountain-girt Oases of those unexplored solitudes, with the gallant, lovely and happy creatures of their imaginations. About these hang mysteries which time and the baseless stories of the fanciful will probably render only more mysterious. In these may rest at last the remnant of the ancient owners of this great Continent; and here, in a semi-civilized condition, they may continue the wonder and the terror of ages yet to be. In such a land as this it is easy to suppose that the minds of its future inhabitants, partaking of the characters of the things around them, will rise in splendor, like their own cloud-piercing peaks, or flow in majesty like their broad, majestic Rivers.

And while beholding here a prospect which he feels that nature herself, in her farthest reaching, in her most sublime imaginings, could not improve, to which, though she would scatter with unsparing hand upon one favored spot, all beauty and all grandeur, she could not add one single touch; while taking at one vast sweep such an assemblage of grand and various scenery, and while indulging such fanciful images of the future, the traveler reclining, perhaps, upon the green sward which clothes the rounded height from its base to its brow, and beneath the green arms of a low and spreading oak might revert, amid such silence and such scenes, to the far land of his home, and recall to his mind others, though less grand and beautiful, yet even dearer than these, might yield to a feeling of regret, when hearing here the loud Ocean's

voice, and seeing yonder the stern mountain barrier mingling its snows with cloud and sky, both separating him from that home and from those cherished scenes.

But to conclude this portion of our subject by summing up, in short, the advantages and disadvantages which the Territory of Oregon possesses, in comparison with other countries, or rather, with portions of the United States. We suppose its principal advantages, for instance, over the Valley of the Mississippi, to be, in climate, in its situation for Commerce, in its water power, in its forest of gigantic trees, in the purity of its waters, and in the vastness and beauty of its scenery. In all of these it is certainly superior. In respect to its climate, the rainy seasons, it is true, are often disagreeable; but its being favorable to grazing, and most especially its great healthfulness, renders it very far superior to that of any portion of the States. Its situation for profitable Commerce with other portions of the world we consider to be superior also to that of the Valley of the Mississippi. The vast extent of Sea-coast, embracing every clime, and the numerous fertile Islands with which the great Pacific Ocean is crowded, to which it has immediate access, render it superior. And the circumstance that almost all the commercial and manufacturing nations of the world are compelled to make great circuits, in order to reach these shores, gives another advantage worthy of consideration. Its water power, we believe, cannot be surpassed on the face of the globe, neither can its forests or the purity of its streams. Its principal disadvantages, (excepting that of the Winter rains,) are the limited extent of the habitable portion, the great amount of waste land included even in that portion, the different parts of it which are suitable for settlements being detached by ranges of mountains, making access from one to another often difficult; the rock-bound character of its coast; the inferiority of its inland navigation,

and of the soil of the high lands. In all of these it is surely inferior to the Mississippi Valley. But after balancing the advantages and disadvantages we cannot determine which is, in reality, superior. Different men have different opinions. One will prefer one country, and another will prefer another country; one will choose the fertile Valley of the Mississippi, another the healthful climate and the romantic scenery of Oregon.

CHAPTER IV.

ROUTE FROM OREGON TO CALIFORNIA.

Rendezvous — Indian War Dance — Indians came into Camp to trade — Adventure of an Iroquois Indian — An Alarm — Sugar Pine — Soda Spring — Sacramento River — Sacramento Hills — Rugged Road — Indians on the Sacramento — Fort, Trading Post, Etc., of Captain Sutter.

We left the rendezvous near the Methodist Mission, on the Upper Willammette, on the 18th day of June, 1844, for Upper California. Our Company consisted of thirty-seven persons, of which number thirteen were women and children; the rest were made up of Americans, English, French, Mexicans, and Indians of four different tribes. We took our baggage entirely with pack animals, as the route will admit of being traveled in no other way. Proceeding up the Willammette River ninety miles, near to the point where it comes out of the mountains, we left it, and bearing off across the Valley, at ten miles came to the Calapooiah Mountains, and passed over them, a distance of twelve miles, with ease into the Valley of the Umpqua. Passing across it by a very circuitous way, which characterizes the whole route to California, we came, at sixty miles, to the foot of the Umpqua Mountains, and encamped by a small, clear mountain stream, which ran hurriedly along through a beautiful and extensive inclination thickly set with a fine green sward, and over which,

here and there, the dark green Pines arose to the height of two hundred feet.

Late in the evening about twenty of the Umpqua Indians came into our camp. At night several of them, being induced by a half-breed Frenchman of our party, who was always fond of witnessing and participating in all the games and amusements of his savage brethren, performed one of their War Dances. After equipping and painting themselves in the most hideous manner which their imaginations, almost perfect in such savage arts, could possibly invent: having their bows and arrows in their hands, with all their implements of war about them, and being arranged in a row on one side of the Camp fires, while we, who were looking on, occupied the other, they began dancing, singing at the same time in the wildest and most fiend-like strain, making the most hideous grimaces, and every variety of threatening gesture: some times throwing into their countenances a most intense gaze, and with lowering brows and eyes directed along their arrows, as if riveted upon some fated object upon which they were about to spring and transfix with a deadly weapon, they would suddenly bend their bows to the very arrow's head, as if in the act of shooting a foe; then recovering, with a dreadful smile of savage satisfaction, they would flourish their arms about their heads and throw into their song a tone of fiendish triumph, such as would compel the stoutest nerves to cringe. During the dance one of the number, who appeared to act the Chief, and to be bound to excel in the terrible, crouched to one half his natural stature, facing the rest, and if possible more hideously arrayed, kept moving by short, quick, patting steps from one end of the line to the other. At intervals, when they appeared to have finished one part, they would all straighten themselves up to their full height, and utter several loud, shrill, piercing yells, which thrilled through

the forest and was echoed back from every tree and the distant hills, as if a host had answered; then again, they would commence the dancing and singing, as before, varying it with the same wild grimaces and gestures, and again conclude with the same loud, thrilling yells, until after performing in this manner, several times, they wound up by a sham attack. This they did by holding the bow in their left hand, and grasping the arrow on the string with the right (as is usual with them), resting the right hand on the hip; drawing the bow with all their strength; throwing themselves forward and back, and bending their bodies until their heads almost touched the ground; and all the time they were springing about, in every direction, as if avoiding the missiles of the foe, and yelling at the very top of their voices, with more than mortal fierceness. During this performance of the Indians the Camp fires burning bright, lighted up the surrounding forest to a considerable distance, showing the tall green pines and leaving all beyond (though the moon was high) in deep, dense darkness, giving to the wild scene so wildly acted, in those far savage solitudes, additional wildness; so far surpassing what we commonly consider to belong to nature and reality, that one seemed to dream, and standing in Tartarian shades, to gaze upon the regions of the damned.

In the morning, we commenced the ascent of the Umpqua Mountains, which, being covered with thick timber and brush, was considered as a place favorable to the Indians for an attack; and as we were approaching the territory of the hostile Rascals, (a tribe of Indians frequently so called,) who previously never allowed a favorable opportunity for an attack to pass unimproved, there was much uneasiness in camp, and preparations were made to prevent a surprise. Front, flank and rear guards were kept out, while the party were moving, and some of the *braves* put on their defensive armor, in the shape of

extra shirts, pants, vests, coats and over coats, to ward off the arrows of the ambuscaded Rascals. We, however, passed over the mountain, a distance of fourteen miles, without seeing or hearing from the Indians, and came into the Valley of Rogue's River. At the crossing of the River, thirty of the Rascals came into camp, for the purpose of opening a trade. They were, at first, very shy in approaching us. When within two hundred yards, they halted, and waited some time, regarding us closely, in order to ascertain, from our movements, whether we were disposed to be friends or foes. After repeatedly assuring them of our friendship, and persuading them a long time, they at length came very slowly and cautiously within twenty yards of us, and took their seats in a row, on the ground. In all their movements, and in every expression of their countenances, nothing could be detected that indicated fear, although it was certain that they were far from being destitute of such sensations; they held such complete command over their nerves, and knew so well how to dissemble that all appeared to be nothing more than caution. Having prepared a pipe and tobacco, several of our party arranged themselves in a circle with the Indians, and smoked, passing the pipe around to the left, from one to another. This is a mark of friendship, and amounts to a treaty of peace. After smoking and asking our permission to depart, which is a custom among the Indians, in the place of our "Good night," they retired, promising to return. In the morning, they came again to our encampment, bringing with them quite a number of beaver skins, which they exchanged with different individuals of our company, for such trifling articles as they pleased to give them.

Having passed across the Valley of Rogue's River, a distance of fifty miles, we came to the Chesty Mountains. Here, the trail, taking a narrow spur of the Mountain, on

either side of which, there was a small ravine full of thick brush, gave the Indians a favorable opportunity for making an attack; and, as we knew of their having before attacked Companies at this place, and doing considerable damage, here again we used the previous precaution of putting out the necessary guards; and the *braves* again put on their armour, and again we passed in safety the dangerous mountain, and crossed over into the Valley beyond, a distance of only six miles, without encountering any difficulty. Having crossed the Northern side of the Valley, and also the Clamuth River, we encamped early in the evening, at a small spring, three miles beyond the River, and thirteen from the foot of the Chesty Mountains. Here an Iroquois Indian of our company, having returned from a hunting excursion, reported that, while hunting, he came suddenly upon a small Indian camp; and being perceived by the Indians, he went boldly in, as if his coming had been intentional. This scheme, of course, gave the Indians to believe that he considered, from some cause, perhaps the vicinity of a strong party, that he had no reason to be afraid. It worked well, and he returned without being molested, having noticed, as he said, several horses in the Indian camp. Upon hearing this last part of the story, three of our party, an American, a Frenchman, and a half breed, named Petitoo, set out, against the protest of the whole camp, declaring that they would have the horses. Night came on, and all had retired to bed, when the Indian yell was raised within a few hundred yards, and every one supposing that the party had been killed by the Indians, and that they were coming upon the camp, sprang to their arms, and hastened to meet what they supposed to be an enemy. It proved, however, to be the three themselves, who in their wild and unwarrantable glee, breaking over all custom, and acknowledged laws of order and propriety,

wished, for mere sport, to put the camp in a panic. They came charging up at full speed, and Petitoo, who was the ring-leader in the affair, to make a sort of "grand flourish," put whip and spur to his jaded horse, already scarcely able to proceed and coming into the staking ground at a rapid rate, was about to rein up before the crowd, who had rushed out to meet "the Indians," and was just crying out, with a swaggering air, "Caraho pin-daho!" a favorite Spanish exclamation, when his horse, tangled in one of the staking ropes, fell; and, turning a complete somerset, went tumbling after his rider, who was hastening, in spite of himself, by several successive and astonishing feats of "grand and lofty tumbling," to the bottom of the hill, amid the peals of laughter and cursings, that burst from the still half-terrified camp. After having received a severe reprimand, and a promise of something severer if they ever dared to alarm the Company again, the frolicking party sneaked off to bed, crest-fallen and disappointed.

Continuing across the Clamuth Valley, which is nearly destitute of timber, we came, at thirty miles, to its Southern side, which is a low division, between the waters of the Clamuth and the Sacramento, and is covered with a forest of Pine and Fir. There we saw the first of the Sugar Pine, one of the largest and finest of the Pine species: it is frequently found ten feet in diameter and two hundred and fifty feet high. The wood of this species is probably superior to the best common Pine. It is called Sugar Pine from the peculiar quality of its gum, which tastes very much like Sugar saturated with Turpentine. A small portion of this gum operates as a mild and efficient purgative. Here, on our right, is a high range of Mountains extending North and South, and on our left, the Snowy Butte, a lofty isolated peak, rises from the bosom of eternal snow, and gives rise to the West branch of the Sacramento River,

which we struck in ten miles after leaving the Clamuth Valley, and continued down it, frequently crossing and recrossing the stream. Fifteen miles below the point where we first struck this stream, we came to a Soda spring bursting out from the foot of a high hill, and running into a small basin formed by travelers or Indians for the convenience of drinking. The water from this Spring is strongly impregnated with some other mineral. From this Soda Spring we proceeded down the River through the Sacramento Hills which are high, steep, and rugged, covered with timber, and almost destitute of grass. The rock in these hills is principally a coarse granite, but that forming the channel of the River is volcanic. In passing through these hills we were still compelled to cross and recross the stream, in order to find a passable way, which, in its whole course, until it reaches the head of the Valley, a distance of one hundred miles, is full of falls, rapids, and narrow canyons. Having come to the head of the Valley, we took the West side of the River, which here begins to assume a different character, losing its irregularity and rapidity, and flowing with a more even current. Continuing down the Valley on the West side we found, all along on the River, villages of Indians living in miserable huts made of poles, set on end in a circle on the ground, leaned together, fastened at the top, and covered with grass and dirt. We found those in the upper part of the Valley, entirely naked, and so wild that they fled from our approach into the thickets, leaving their villages and all their property behind them. They subsist principally upon salmon, (which ascend the River in great quantities,) upon acorns, and wild oats.

One hundred sixty miles from the head of the Valley, we came to the Fort of Capt. Sutter, a large trading establishment, built of dobies. Capt. Sutter's Fort is situated on the East side of the Sacramento River, about fifty

miles above its entrance into the Bay of St. Francisco, at the head of tide water, and some distance below the affluence of the Rio de los Americanos, or the American River, a stream which has its source in the Mountains to the East. It is in latitude 38 deg. 35 min. North, and is the principal place in the Sacramento Valley, and one to which the foreigners who are residing in Upper California look for refuge and protection, in case of an outbreak by the Indians or an attempt on the part of the Spaniards to expel them from the country. The Fort is a quadrangular wall, built of large sun-dried brick, and has bastions in the corners in which are mounted several small pieces of artillery. It is garrisoned by about forty Indians, one of whom constantly stands sentry during the day as well as the night, and apprises those in the Fort of the approach of any party, whether friends or foes. It covers a large area, and is probably capable of containing a garrison of one thousand men. Within the walls are the shops and the residences of the officers, mechanics, and servants, and there is also connected with the establishment a horse mill, a distillery, and a tannery. Captain Sutter at first had difficulties with the Indians, but by the promptness and severity with which he has frequently chastised them, whether he acted against tribes or individuals, against Chiefs or subjects, has at length brought them to fear and respect him, and now they seldom molest his property or the men in his employ. The Indians cultivate and improve his farms, attend to his large herds of animals, make a portion of his trapping parties, and do all the drudgery about the Fort; hundreds of them are ready, also, to defend him against any emergency. The government of California was at first suspicious of him on account of the strength of his fortifications and the influence which he was acquiring over the Indians, but he has since been appointed an officer of Justice by them. It is, how-

ever, very doubtful whether their former feelings towards him are changed, were it not for the insufficiency of their power, it is believed that they would yet banish him from the country. Capt. Sutter is a native of Switzerland, and came from Missouri to his present location and has been in California about five years: he purchased the cannon and other portions of the establishment of a Russian Company, then in the country, and having obtained of the Mexican Government a grant of land along the Sacramento River of some thirty or forty square leagues, he removed to his present situation. Besides the fur trade, he carries on an extensive business in farming, stock raising, and manufacturing. He has a very large farm and large bands of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, and constantly keeps employed mechanics of different descriptions. He is spoken of by all who visit him, as being very accommodating, hospitable, and altogether, much of a gentleman, nor have we any disposition to differ with the general impression. Here our company disbanded, some going to one and some to another part of the province.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DOCUMENTS.

THE COUNCIL OF TABLE ROCK, 1853.

Reminiscences of Senator James W. Nesmith and General Joseph Lane.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

As a natural consequence of the occupation of the Willamette Valley, the white settlers gradually pushed their way over the Calapooia Mountains into southern Oregon. Those who were attracted to California, by reason of the discovery of gold, found their only safety in traveling in large parties, well armed and constantly on the alert. Many who recklessly defied danger by attempting to make the journey alone, found speedy and certain death at the hands of an implacable foe.

Later on, small parties who undertook to explore the country in different directions were overwhelmed by numbers and savagely slaughtered; a few only escaping to tell of the fate of their companions, and recount their own thrilling adventures. Settlement in the region referred to was resented with murderous energy by the Indian tribes whose habitat it was. Nevertheless, the inevitable occurred, and in several of the fertile valleys of southern Oregon, the whites established permanent and thriving settlements.

Rich deposits of gold had also been discovered along the streams in several localities, and a large number of adventurous and sturdy miners formed camps at points convenient to their diggings. The sullen hostility of the Indians manifested itself from time to time by murder and pillage. The vengeance of the white was always swift and sure.

These conditions could not long exist without producing open war between the two races; they culminated in what is known as the "Battle of Rogue River," which was fought on June 23, 1851, in which the Indians were severely punished.

A temporary pacification ensued. Treaties were entered into, only to be subsequently rejected by the senate. Hostilities were resumed in the succeeding year. A battle was fought in the Coquille River, resulting in the defeat of the Indians. Peace was again temporarily restored. Hostilities were again resumed, and culminated in what is known as the Rogue River war.

The Indian depredations and outrages committed in the spring of 1853 so exasperated the people of southern Oregon that a small company of volunteers, under Captain Isaac Hill, who had obtained arms and ammunition from Captain Alden, then in command at Fort Jones, California, attacked a body of Indians near Ashland, killing six. The remaining Indians fled, but speedily returned to that vicinity with reinforcements, and wrought bloody destruction upon a company of emigrants.

A messenger was dispatched to Governor Curry, who at once requested Major Rains, then in command at Fort Vancouver, to furnish a howitzer, rifles, and ammunition. The request was promptly granted. Lieut. A. V. Kautz and six artillerymen, taking with them a howitzer, started for the seat of war. An escort was deemed necessary. The Governor called for volunteers. A company was soon raised, and James W. Nesmith was commissioned its captain.

He marched to Albany and there awaited the arrival of Lieutenant Kautz. This occurred shortly afterward, and the whole party proceeded southward, but did not reach the seat of war until the troops, volunteers and regulars, under command of General Lane and Captain Alden, re-

spectively, had engaged the Indians with such success as to induce the latter to request a parley, with a view of entering into a treaty, which was shortly thereafter signed and sealed, and in due time ratified.

More than a quarter of a century after these events took place, Nesmith thus thrillingly described them:

A REMINISCENCE OF THE INDIAN WAR, 1853.

By JAMES W. NESMITH.

During the month of August, 1853, the different tribes of Indians inhabiting the Rogue River Valley, in southern Oregon, suddenly assumed a hostile attitude. They murdered many settlers and miners, and burned nearly all of the buildings for over a hundred miles along the main-traveled route, extending from Cow Creek, on the north, in a southerly direction to the Siskiyou Mountains. General Lane, at that time being in the Rogue River Valley, at the request of citizens assumed control of a body of militia, suddenly called for the defense of the settlers.

Captain Alden of the regular army, and Col. John E. Ross of Jackson County, joined General Lane and served under his command. Old Jo, John and Sam were the principal leaders of the Indians, aided by such young and vigorous warriors as George and Limpy.

The Indians collected in a large body, and retreated northward in the direction of the Umpqua. General Lane made a vigorous pursuit, and on the 24th of August, overtook and attacked the foe in a rough, mountainous and heavily timbered region upon Evans Creek. The Indians had fortified their encampment by fallen timber, and being well supplied with arms and ammunition, made a vigorous resistance. In an attempt to charge through the brush, General Lane was shot through the arm and Captain Alden received a wound from which he never fully

recovered. Several other of the attacking party were wounded, some of whom subsequently died of their injuries. Capt. Pleasant Armstrong, an old and respected citizen of Yamhill County, was shot through the heart, and died instantly.

The Indians and whites were so close together that they could easily converse. The most of them knew General Lane, and when they found that he was in command of the troops, they called out to "Joe Lane" and asked him to come into their camp to arrange some terms for a cessation of hostilities. The General, with more courage than discretion, in his wounded condition, ordered a cessation of hostilities and fearlessly walked into the hostile camp, where he saw many wounded Indians, together with several who were dead and being burned to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy, which clearly demonstrated that the Indians had gotten the worst of the fight. After a long conference, it was finally agreed that there should be a cessation of hostilities, and that both parties should return to the neighborhood of Table Rock, on the north side of the Rogue River Valley, and that an armistice should exist until Gen. Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, could be sent for, and that a treaty should be negotiated with the United States authorities in which all grievances should be adjusted between the parties. Both whites and Indians marched back slowly over the same trail, encumbered with their wounded, each party keeping a vigilant watch of the other. General Lane encamped on Rogue River, while the Indians selected a strong and almost inaccessible position, high up, and just under the perpendicular cliffs of Table Rock, to await the arrival of Superintendent Palmer and Agent Culver.

At the commencement of hostilities, the people of Rogue River Valley were sadly deficient in arms and ammuni-

tion, many of the settlers and miners having traded their arms to the Indians, who were much better equipped for war than their white neighbors. The rifle and revolver had displaced the bow and arrow, and the war club with which the native was armed when the writer of this knew and fought them in 1848.

General Lane and Captain Alden at the commencement of the outbreak had sent an express to Governor George L. Curry, then Secretary and acting Governor. Major Rains of the 4th U. S. Infantry, commanding the district, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, was called upon to supply the threatened settlers with arms and ammunition. Major Rains responded to the call for arms and ammunition, but was deficient in troops to escort them to their destination at the seat of war. Governor Curry at once authorized the writer to raise seventy-five men and escort the arms to the threatened settlements. The escort was soon raised in the town of Salem, and marched to Albany, where it waited a couple of days for the arrival of Second Lieutenant August V. Kautz in charge of the wagons with rifles and cartridges, together with a twelve-pound howitzer, and a good supply of fixed ammunition. Kautz was then fresh from West Point, and this was his first campaign. He subsequently achieved the rank of major general, and rendered good service during the "late unpleasantness" with the South, and is now colonel of the 8th U. S. Infantry.

After a toilsome march, dragging the howitzer and other materials of war through the Umpqua Canyon, and up and down the mountain trails, made slippery by recent rains, we arrived at General Lane's encampment on Rogue River, near the subsequent site of Fort Lane, on the 8th day of September. On the same day Capt. A. J. Smith, since the distinguished General Smith of the Union army, arrived at headquarters with Company C, First Dragoons.

The accession of Captain Smith's company and my own gave General Lane a force sufficient to cope with the enemy, then supposed to be about 700 strong. The encampment of the Indians was still on the side of the mountains, of which Table Rock forms the summit, and at night we could plainly see their camp fire, while they could look directly down upon us. The whole command was anxious and willing to fight, but General Lane had pledged the Indians that an effort should be made to treat for peace. Superintendent Palmer and Agent Culver were upon the ground. The armistice had not yet expired, and the 10th was fixed for the time of the council. On the morning of that day General Lane sent for me, and desired me to go with him to the council ground inside the Indian encampment, to act as interpreter, as I was master of the Chinook jargon. I asked the General upon what terms we were to meet the Indians. He replied that the agreement was that the meeting should take place within the encampment of the enemy, and that he would be accompanied by ten other men of his own selection, unarmed.

Against those terms I protested, and told the General that I had traversed that country five years before, and fought those same Indians; that they were notoriously treacherous, and in early times had earned the designation of "Rogues," by never permitting a white man to escape with his scalp when once within their power; that I knew them better than he did, and that it was criminal folly for eleven unarmed men to place themselves voluntarily within the power of seven hundred well armed, hostile Indians in their own secure encampment. I reminded him that I was a soldier in command of a company of cavalry and was ready to obey his order to lead my men into action, or to discharge any soldierly duty, no part of which was to go into the enemy's camp as an unarmed interpreter. The General listened to my protest and replied that he

had fixed upon the terms of meeting the Indians and should keep his word, and if I was afraid to go I could remain behind. When he put it upon that ground, I responded that I thought I was as little acquainted with fear as he was, and that I would accompany him to what I believed would be our slaughter.

Early on the morning of the 10th of September, 1853, we mounted our horses and rode out in the direction of the Indian encampment. Our party consisted of the following named persons: Gen. Joseph Lane; Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Samuel P. Culver, Indian Agent; Capt. A. J. Smith, 1st Dragoons; Capt. L. F. Mosher, Adjutant; Col. John E. Ross, Capt. J. W. Nesmith, Lieut. A. V. Kautz, R. B. Metcalf, J. D. Mason, T. T. Tierney. By reference to the U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 10, p. 1020, the most of the above names will be found appended to the treaty that day executed. After riding a couple of miles across the level valley, we came to the foot of the mountain where it was too steep for horses to ascend. We dismounted and hitched our horses and scrambled up for half a mile over huge rocks and through brush, and then found ourselves in the Indian stronghold, just under the perpendicular cliff of Table Rock, and surrounded by seven hundred fierce and well armed hostile savages, in all their gorgeous war paint and feathers. Captain Smith had drawn out his company of dragoons, and left them in line on the plain below. It was a bright, beautiful morning, and the Rogue River Valley lay like a panorama at our feet; the exact line of dragoons, sitting statue like upon their horses, with their white belts and burnished scabbards and carbines, looked like they were engraven upon a picture, while a few paces in our rear the huge perpendicular wall of the Table Rock towered, frowningly, many hundred feet above us. The business of the treaty commenced at once. Long speeches were made by Gen-

eral Lane and Superintendent Palmer; they had to be translated twice. When an Indian spoke in the Rogue River tongue, it was translated by an Indian interpreter into Chinook or jargon to me, when I translated it into English; when Lane or Palmer spoke, the process was reversed, I giving the speech to the Indian interpreter in Chinook, and he translating it to the Indians in their own tongue. This double translation of long speeches made the labor tedious, and it was not until late in the afternoon that the treaty was completed and signed. In the meantime an episode occurred which came near terminating the treaty as well as the representation of one of the "high contracting parties" in a sudden and tragic manner. About the middle of the afternoon a young Indian came running into camp stark naked, with the perspiration streaming from every pore. He made a brief harangue, and threw himself upon the ground apparently exhausted. His speech had created a great tumult among his tribe. General Lane told me to inquire of the Indian interpreter the cause of the commotion; the Indian responded that a company of white men down on Applegate Creek, and under the command of Captain Owen, had that morning captured an Indian known as Jim Taylor, and had tied him up to a tree and shot him to death. The hubbub and confusion among the Indians at once became intense, and murder glared from each savage visage. The Indian interpreter told me that the Indians were threatening to tie us up to trees and serve us as Owen's men had served Jim Taylor. I saw some Indians gathering up lass-ropes, while others drew the skin covers from their guns, and the wiping sticks from their muzzle.

There appeared a strong probability of our party being subjected to a sudden volley. I explained as briefly as I could, what the interpreter had communicated to me, in order to keep our people from huddling together, and thus

make a better target for the savages. I used a few English words, not likely to be understood by the Indian interpreter, such as "disperse" and "segregate." In fact, we kept so close to the savages, and separated from one another, that any general firing must have been nearly as fatal to the Indians as to the whites.

While I admit that I thought that my time had come, and hurriedly thought of wife and children, I noticed nothing but coolness among my companions. General Lane sat upon a log, with his arm bandaged in a sling, the lines about his mouth rigidly compressing his lips, while his eyes flashed fire. He asked brief questions, and gave me sententious answers to what little the Indians said to us. Capt. A. J. Smith, who was prematurely gray-haired, and was afflicted with a nervous snapping of the eyes, leaned upon his cavalry saber, and looked anxiously down upon his well formed line of dragoons in the valley below. His eyes snapped more vigorously than usual, and muttered words escaped from under the old Dragoon's mustache that did not sound like prayers. His squadron looked beautiful, but alas, they could render us no assistance. I sat down on a log close to old Chief Jo, and having a sharp hunting knife under my hunting shirt, kept one hand near its handle, determined that there would be one Indian made "good" about the time the firing commenced.

In a few moments General Lane stood up and commenced to speak slowly but very distinctly. He said: "Owens who has violated the armistice and killed Jim Taylor, is a bad man. He is not one of my soldiers. When I catch him he shall be punished. I promised in good faith to come into your camp, with ten other unarmed men to secure peace. Myself and men are placed in your power; I do not believe that you are such cowardly dogs as to take advantage of our unarmed condition.

I know that you have the power to murder us, and you can do so as quickly as you please, but what good will our blood do you? Our murder will exasperate our friends and your tribe will be hunted from the face of the earth. Let us proceed with the treaty, and in place of war, have a lasting peace." Much more was said in this strain by the General, all rather defiant, and nothing of a begging character. The excitement gradually subsided, after Lane promised to give a fair compensation for the defunct Jim Taylor in shirts and blankets.

The treaty of the 10th of September, 1853 was completed and signed and peace restored for the next two years. Our party wended their way among the rocks down to where our horses were tied, and mounted. Old A. J. Smith galloped up to his squadron and gave a brief order. The bugle sounded a note or two, and the squadron wheeled and trotted off to camp. As General Lane and party rode back across the valley, we looked up and saw the rays of the setting sun gilding the summit of Table Rock. I drew a long breath and remarked to the old General that the next time he wanted to go unarmed into a hostile camp he must hunt up some one besides myself to act as interpreter. With a benignant smile he responded, "God bless you, luck is better than science."

I never hear the fate of General Canby at the Modoc camp, referred to, that I do not think of our narrow escape of a similar fate at Table Rock.

Rickreall, April 20, 1879.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL LANE TO
SENATOR NESMITH.

ROSEBURG, Monday, April 28, 1879.

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of the 23d instant, enclosing a copy of an article giving an account of our Council or Treaty with the Rogue River Indians on September 10, 1853, was received two or three days ago and would have been answered on receipt, had I not been too

feeble to write. I am feeling quite well this morning, though my hand trembles. You will get this in a day or two, and the article will be published in the *Star* on Friday and will reach you on Saturday.

The article is written in your own free and easy style; Bancroft will doubtless be pleased with it; it will form a portion of his forthcoming book. Dates and incidents given in the article are in the main correct. You could, however, very truly have said that neither you nor myself had a single particle of fear of any treachery on the part of the Indians toward us, and the proof was they did not harm us.

We had at all times been ready to fight them, and to faithfully keep and maintain our good faith with them. We never once, on any occasion, lied to them, and as you know, when the great Indian war of 1855-6 broke out, and you were again in the field fighting them, poor old Jo was dead, and you, or some other commander, at old Sam's request, sent him and his people to the Grand Round Reservation.

Old John and Adam, and all others except Jo's and Sam's people fought you hard, but the Rogues, proper, never forgot the impression we made upon them in the great Council of September 10, 1853. It was a grand and successful Council; the Rogue Rivers, proper, fought us no more; they did not forget their promises to us.

Very truly your friend and obedient servant.

JOSEPH LANE.

REVIEWS.

McCarver and Tacoma. By THOMAS W. PROSCH. (Lowman and Hanford, Seattle. 1906. pp. viii, 198.)

Morton Matthew McCarver was born near the town of Lexington, Kentucky, on January 14, 1807, and died at Tacoma, Washington, April 17, 1871. The annals of the West do not contain the story of a more representative, resolute, and energetic migratory pioneer. McCarver struck out into the world when but fourteen as a hand on a flatboat making a trip to New Orleans, and was soon in Texas. From thence onward his movements serve to register the progress of the forefront of the wave of American settlement penetrating the wilderness of the Far West. He was among the leaders in the first great movement occupying in succession Iowa, Oregon, California, the Frazer River country, Idaho, and the Sound country. He made something of a specialty of locating the sites of future towns and cities. He began with staking out the site of Burlington, Iowa, in June, 1833; he was associated with Peter H. Burnett in founding the town of Linnton on the banks of the Willamette in 1843, hoping to make it the emporium of the Oregon country; in the fall of 1848 he suggested the city of Sacramento and managed its platting; and with the vision of a prophet in 1868 he began operations in the founding of a city on Commencement Bay—the future Tacoma. But McCarver was much more than an exploiter of resources as a preëmtor of sites of future centers of population. He was a commonwealth builder as well. In 1838 he was commissary general of the Iowa militia; in 1844–5 he was a member of the Legislative Committee of the Provisional Government of Oregon and was elected its speaker; in 1849 he was sitting as a member of the California Constitutional Convention at Monterey, and during the Rogue River and Yakima Indian wars was again commissary general for the Oregon troops.

The story of this very strenuous life is told with fine directness and explicitness by his son-in-law. The volume also contains a sketch of the life of his second wife, Julia A. McCarver, and an address on "The Early History of Tacoma."

The Souvenir of Western Women. Edited by MARY OSBORN DOUTHIT. Portland, Oregon. Paper, pp. 200.

Commercial advertising is sandwiched in between some prime historical material, but the editor should have the credit for stimulating the production of these valuable sketches and for getting them into their fine dress.

ACCESSIONS.

DOCUMENTS.

United States patent to 160 acres of land, issued to Jarrett Weaver, a soldier of the War of 1812, being the northwest quarter of section 24 of township 3 north in range 5 west in the tract appropriated for Military Bounties, in the Territory of Illinois, dated January 25, 1819, signed by James Monroe, President, and Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office. Placed in the custody of the Society by F. M. Alfred, Baker City.

United States patent to 120 acres of land in Wisconsin, issued to John H. Marcellus June 1, 1848, signed by James K. Polk, President.

Discharge of John Marcellus from Co. G, First Regiment, Wisconsin Heavy Artillery, Fort Ellsworth, June 26, 1865.

Passes dated June 24 and July 3, 1865, issued to John Marcellus, the first at Fort Ellsworth, Va., and the second at Camp Washburn, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The three preceding documents from Mrs. Louisa W. Marcellus, Portland.

Three hundred documents, consisting of letters, muster rolls, receipts, orders, commissions, property returns, table of rations, invoice, etc., relating mainly to the Indian war of 1855-56, in connection with the command of Major Davis Layton, of Linn County, Oregon. Donated by Mrs. Clara D. Hendricks, Portland, a daughter of Major Layton. These documents throw considerable light upon the conduct of the Yakima war.

Letter from Anna Maria Pittman to her brother, George W. Pittman, dated New York, April 19, 1834. At this date George W. Pittman was serving in the U. S. Dragoons at "Fort Gibson, Arkansas River, Arkansas Territory." Upon the same sheet is a letter from another sister, M. E. Pittman, to her brother, dated April 17, 1834; also a third letter from Wm. C. Hawley to Mr. Pittman regarding the disposition of some clothing left by his son Francis, who died in the army. These letters were written on a sheet 16 x 19½ inches, and are in a good state of preservation. Postage from New York to Fort Gibson, 25 cents.

Letter from Anna Maria Pittman to her brother, George W. Pittman, dated Williamsburg, March 15, 1836. In this she alludes to her portrait, saying, "I have had my portrait painted at my own expense; some say it is good, others say not; but there is always a diversity of opinion on such subjects. When you see it you may judge for yourself. It wants a handsome frame on it. May I ask you for it? It can be procured for 7\$. It is to be left at home, that you may sometimes

think of me." Reference is made to the contemplated voyage to Oregon, but passage had not yet been secured.

Letter from Anna Maria Pittman to her brother, George W. Pittman, dated New York, June 9, 1836, as she was getting ready to sail to Oregon. The postage from the city to Troy, N. Y., the residence of her brother, was 18 cents. Anything relating to Miss Pittman is of special interest, because she was one of the Methodist missionary party which left Boston in July, 1836, arrived in Oregon in May, 1837, and was married to Rev. Jason Lee, "Under the Firs," at the old mission station, about ten miles north of Salem, July 16, 1837,—the first American marriage west of the Rocky Mountains. The portrait above alluded to can be seen on the walls of the Society's rooms in the city hall, Portland.

Letter from James Churchman, dated "Philad'a 7 Day Morg. 2 Mo. 22, 1834," to his sister "Anne Churchman, Byberry, Penn'a." Mr. Churchman, having studied law, contemplates going to Kentucky to practice; and in writing to his sister gives some of the impressions he has formed respecting his contemplated field of effort. Among other things, he says: "Indeed, a neighborhood where they know how to appreciate a Henry Clay, must be no contemptible place."

Letter from James Churchman, dated "Cincinnati, 5 Mo. 14-34," to his sister Anne, "Byberry Post Office, near Holmesburg, Philadelphia County, Pa."; postage, 25 cents. This letter gives a minute description of the mode of traveling between the points named seventy-two years ago; and of the conditions the author found in Cincinnati upon his arrival there, his profession being very much overcrowded. James Churchman was a prominent lawyer in California and Nevada in early days, and was the father of Dr. Ney Churchman, of Portland, who kindly placed the letter in the custody of the Society.

Letter from Gen. Philip H. Sheridan to Col. J. W. Nesmith, dated "Head Qrs. 11th Div., 14th Army Corps, Camp Mill Creek, Tenn., Dec. 5, 1862." In this letter Sheridan asks Nesmith's aid in securing his confirmation as brigadier general of volunteers, to which he had been promoted on the previous 1st of July.

Letter of Gen. O. O. Howard, dated March 23, 1876.

Letter from Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont to Mrs. Annie W. Mears, Portland, Oregon, dated Los Angeles, California, 15th February, 1898, relating to the family motto of her father, Col. Thomas Hart Benton, and of his attitude towards monopolistic tendencies. Given to the Society by Mrs. Mears.

The Californian, Vol. 2, No. 44, San Francisco, Wednesday, March 15, 1848, by B. R. Buckalew; is 17½ x 24 inches, four pages, four columns to the page; subscription price, \$5 a year. This paper contains the first printed reference to the discovery of gold at "the sawmill recently erected by Capt. Sutter, on the American Fork."

THE QUARTERLY

of the

Oregon Historical Society.

VOLUME VII.]

SEPTEMBER, 1906.

[NUMBER 3

JASON LEE MEMORIAL ADDRESSES.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION, WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF
JASON LEE.

Jason Lee was born at Stanstead in what is now the province of Quebec, on June 28, 1803. (Stanstead is situated just across the line from the State of Vermont on the east shore of Lake Memphremagog.) There, after his second return from Oregon, he died on March 12, 1845, and there his remains naturally had their sepulture. His life work, however, had been done in what was then the wilderness of Oregon. Hither he had led the van of missionaries in 1834. Here he had wrought with unremitting labors and had had a large part in planting the seeds of a new civilization. Here, too, in the "Lee Mission Cemetery," near Salem, lay buried his first wife, Anna Maria Pittman Lee and their infant son; also his second wife, Lucy Thompson Lee and their daughter Lucy A. Lee Grubbs. What could be more natural then than that, when changed circumstances had made it practicable, the purpose should be formed to have his ashes brought to Oregon for their final resting place. The Methodist Episcopal Church, under whose auspices he worked so indefatigably, took this upon itself, and on June 15, 1906, the mortal remains of its heroic "missionary colonizer" were deposited in the "Lee Mission Cemetery" at the side of those he loved and in the midst of the scene of his labors that were to have results so momentous.

The interment was made the occasion by Willamette University for holding memorial exercises. This number of *THE QUARTERLY* is largely devoted to giving permanent form to the valuable historical addresses delivered as a part of those exercises. For the privilege of thus bringing them into the publications of the Oregon Historical Society it is under obligations not only to the authors of the several papers, but also to Dr. John H. Coleman, President of Willamette University, under the auspices of which the exercises were held. Three sessions were held. In the morning the addresses of Hon. W. D. Fenton and Dr. J. R. Wilson showed the honor due the church that called and sustained Jason Lee in his service because of the far reaching significance of his work. The afternoon exercises were under the auspices of the Oregon Pioneer Association, and the remarks of Hon. J. C. Moreland on taking the chair are given as well as the addresses of Hon. H. W. Scott and Judge R. P. Boise. The evening session was occupied with addresses by those representing the three states formed wholly out of the old "Oregon Country." Judge T. G. Hailey of the Oregon Supreme Court spoke for Governor Chamberlain, who was unavoidably absent. Hon. Allen Weir represented Governor Mead of Washington. Lieutenant Governor L. B. Steeves spoke for Idaho.

These addresses give characterizations of the man in the light of what came of his labors and interpret the significance of the events and movements in which he had a large part. It would seem an appropriate introduction to them to let the spirit of Jason Lee speak directly through the words of representative extracts of the journal he kept at intervals after taking up the Oregon mission work. This document is the most important single source record of his life and services. There are three portions to it, but they are recorded consecutively on the

pages of one book.¹ The first is a narrative of the experiences of his first outward trip with Nathaniel J. Wyeth's second expedition, and of the trying time while fixing upon a location for the mission and constructing the necessary buildings. After an interval of nearly three years, but probably his first respite, while he and Cyrus Shepard were making their way through the mountains towards the Pacific seeking repair of the broken health of both, he puts the pen again to his journal. But he took them up only once. He speaks of the irksomeness of the task of writing when not in regular practice, and his action at this time speaks louder than his words. On the 28th of July, 1838, while on the North Fork of the Platte, making his first return trip to the East, he opened the third portion of the journal. After stating the causes compelling him to undertake so arduous a journey, and his preferred plan to go with the Hudson Bay Company express, he goes into a memoir of his life up to that time, dwelling particularly upon his domestic interests, and, finally, he gives a resume of the trip not quite up to the stage then reached, and stops abruptly.

On a fly leaf there is written: "Left Stanstead, L. C., Aug. 19, 1833." This no doubt marks the date from which on he gave himself to the Oregon mission work.

The opening entries of the journal proper which give the incidents of the preparation for and starting on the long journey are as follows:

Sunday, April 20, 1834, arrived at Liberty, Missouri, on my way to the Flat Head Indians.

Sunday evening attempted to preach in the Court House, but when about half through the wind frightened the people away and I dismissed by pronouncing the blessing, though I did not apprehend any danger.

¹ It is a large pocket book $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches and one inch thick, bound in calf with folding flap. It was given to the Oregon Historical Society by Mrs. Harvey K. Hines.

21. Mon. P. M., rained very hard. Daniel¹ went to look for Br. Munroe and if possible persuade him to go with us.

22. Went 9 m. to Independence and found Brother Shepard² and slept very comfortably with him in the tent designed for our journey. Felt thankful that we had arrived safe without accident to the [place] where we were to prepare for our overland trip.

23. This [day] has been spent in making preparations for our departure.

24. This evening D. returned though he could not suc[c]eed in getting the man for whom he went yet he engaged two others³ one of whom I had conversed with on the subject and think he will do well to teach the Indians.

April 25. Went over to Liberty and finished our business and accompanied our two friends to our encampment. Took leave of Mr. and [Mrs.] Kelly who kindly and gratuitously entertained us while at Liberty.

Sat. Purchased some Cows and more Horses and removed 4 m. from the river with the intention of camping with Capt. Weyth about 9 m. from the river but was belated and accepted an invitation to turn in and lodge with a man by name Bickman pitched our tent part lodged in the house and part in the Tent. He took nothing for our entertainment.

Sun., 27. Prayed with the family and took our departure as soon as possible after an early breakfast being fearful that the Company would start early and we be left behind, but they did not decamp. Had we known that they would not we should not; but should have complied with the pressing request of many and preached in Independence.

Mon., 28. After seeing the animals packed ready for starting returned to Independence to attend to some things which in our hurry we had neglected. Came back and dined at Br Ferril's a local preacher who kindly gave us corn for our horses and entertained some of us; and then rode on and came into camp at dusk thankful that we were on our way to the farthest West."

The routine of the trip across the plains with the fur trading company had little in it that was congenial to Mr. Lee.

¹ Daniel Lee, his nephew, who was associated with Jason Lee through the whole of the latter's labors in Oregon, having charge of the Wascopam Mission (The Dalles) from 1838 to 1843 with which he was very successful.

² Cyrus Shepard, who became the "mission teacher" and one of the mainstays of the mission until his death on January 1, 1840.

³ Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker. Edwards was engaged to teach in the proposed mission and Walker for other labors. See the address by Mr. Scott for estimates of these two men.

He heard and saw things among the men that pained him and he longed to officiate in services proper to a missionary but found no opportunity. The record on the second Sunday out is typical :

“*Sun., [May] 11.* Decamped early this morning, but lost the trail; came to a stop about 11 o'clock. Capt. Thing took an observation and found we were [in] 40°, 18'' N. Lat. This [day] has been spent in a manner not at all congenial with my wishes. Traveling, labouring to take care of the animals by all and cursing and shooting, &c., by the Company. Read some Psalms and thought truly my feelings in some measure accorded with David's when he longed so much for the House of God. I have found very little time for reading, writing or meditation since I reached Liberty, for I was almost momentarily employed in making preparations previous to leaving the civilized world, and we now find constant employment from daylight till it is time to decamp, and then I am engaged in driving cows till we camp; to pitch our tent and make all necessary arrangements for the night fills up the residue of the day. But still we find a few moments to call our little Family together and commend ourselves to God.”

Again when spending a Sunday at Fort Laramie he writes :

“We have very little prospect of doing any good among those with whom we journey, our time while in camp being almost entirely taken up in taking care of our things, horses, cooking, etc., so that it is with difficulty we find time to write a little in the journal.”

What Jason Lee the man was, however, came out at the crisis when the company arrived at the rendezvous. He writes :

“We call this the Rendezvous or the place where all the companies in the Mountains, or in this section of them, have fixed upon to meet for the transaction of business. Some of the Companies have not come in, yet most of them are a mile above us on the same creek. They threatened that when we came ‘they would give them Missionaries hell,’ and Capt. W. informed us and advised us to be on our guard and give them no offense and if molested to show no symptoms of fear, and if difficulty did arise we might depend upon his aid for he never forsook any one who had put himself under his protection. I replied I was much obliged to him. I *feared* no man and apprehended no danger from them when sober and when drunk we would endeavour to [be] out of their way. I judged it best, however, to go immediately to their camp and get introduction to them while sober, and soon as possible

went accompanied by the Capt. Found Wm. Sublett and was warmly received with all that gentlemanly politeness which has always characterized his conduct towards me. Sup[p]ed with him. Was introduced to those who had threatened us and spent some time in conversation with them on the difficulties of the route, changes of habit, and various topics and made such a favourable impression on them and was treated with such politeness by all that I came away fully satisfied that they would neither molest us themselves nor suffer their men to do so without cause. How easy for the Lord to disconcert the most malicious and deep laid plans." * * *

About this time he met some Nez Perces and Flat Head Indians, who, he says, "came and shook hands very cordially and seemed to welcome me their country." The next day they had a visit from them. A man who had just come from Walla Walla "gave us," he says, "some very encouraging information. Blessed be God. I feel more and more to rejoice I was ever counted worthy to carry the glad news of salvation to the far western world."

Hardly until their arrival at Fort Vancouver is there the same feeling of elation.

"Arrived at Fort Vancouver 3 o'clock [September 15, 1834]; found the Governor and other Gentlemen connected with the Fort on shore awaiting our arrival and conducted us to the fort, and gave us food, which was very acceptable, as we had eaten our last for breakfast. We received every attention from these Gentlemen. Our baggage was brought and put into a spacious room without consulting us, and the room assigned for our use, and we had the pleasure of sleeping again within the walls of a house after a long and fatiguing journey replete with mercies, deprivations, toil and prosperity."

He is served delicious viands and admires the high state of cultivation of the orchards and farm.

Doctor McLoughlin, "the Governor of the Fort," he says, "seems pleased that Missionaries have come to the country and freely offers us any assistance that is in his power to render. It is his decided opinion that we should commence somewhere in this vicinity. O Lord, do thou direct us in the choice of a location. This evening we received the joyful intelligence that Capt. Wyeth's Brig was in sight.

It is a matter of joy because the last we heard it was on a sandbar some 70 mi. below and we feared we should be obliged to go down for our goods. Is not the hand of Providence in all this? Would to God that I could praise him as I ought for his gracious dealings with us."

The choice of a location is now his main concern. He is immediately on his way up the Willamette. Ten days later he still writes:—

"My mind is yet much exercised in respect to our location. I know not what to do." Two days later he says: "After mature deliberation on the subject of our location and earnest prayer for divine direction I have nearly concluded to go to the W[illamette]."

To that determination he held.

"*Monday, Sep. 29, 1834.* This morning began to make preparations in good earnest for our departure to the W. and after dinner embarked in one of the Company's boats kindly man[n]ed for us by Dr. McLoughlin who has treated us with the utmost politeness, attention and liberality. The Gentlemen of the Fort accompanied us to the boat and most heartily wished us great success in our enterprise." * * *

Soon the duties of establishing themselves and in beginning their work as missionaries are so engrossing that the first portion of the journal ends.

The second portion consists of a single entry on August 18, 1837:

"It is now nearly three years since I have kept any record of the dealings of God with me, or of the events that have transpired around me. Indeed, I have written exceedingly little during my life, except what I have been *impelled* to write, by the imperious hand of *duty*. Hence I kept no journal except while crossing the Rocky Mountains. And, indeed, such is my aversion to writing that when my time is chiefly occupied in worldly buisness, and in manual labor (as has been the case the three past years), it is even a *burden*, to me, to sit down to write a letter on buisness, or answer one of a friend. But when I have become a little familiarized to it by practice it is comparatively easy. Had I kept a regular memorandum the three years past, I could have recorded little in reference to my *own* conduct, that would have afforded pleasure and satisfaction to *myself*, in the review; or, that I should be willing to exhibit to *others*, for their *imitation*. Yet many things might have been recorded that would most strikingly have illustrated the

goodness of God to me. I think I may safely say concerning my own conduct, that the more prominent features, or rather the general outlines of the picture, have been such as would be, in the main, approved of by even the judicious. But the *filling up*, the FILLING UP, there is the difficulty. I know full well, that the main object I have kept in view has been the glory of God in the salvation of souls, and having judged it expedient under existing circumstances to employ much of my time in manual labour, I pursued it with diligence and energy for the first twelve months which I have reason to believe superinduced the Intermittent Fever."

Following on the same page is the beginning of the last portion of this record :

"North Fork Platte River, July 28, 1838.

The above paragraph was written in the wilderness, between the Willamette and the Pacific, when on a journey to the latter, with Bro. Shephard for the benefit of our health, accompanied by our companions, and a neighbour. I wrote the above with the intention of taking notes for the rest of the journey. Was obliged to break off suddenly to move on, and being rather feeble, I did not resume my pen. I have since kept no journal, except for a few days when on a trip to the Umpqua.¹ * * * Previous to leaving for Umpqua I had written Dr. McLoughlin requesting a passage [back East] in the companies Boats, with himself, by the Hudson Bay route. This I greatly preferred to the route I came, as less fatiguing, less dangerous, better calculated to restore my debilitated system, and much more likely to afford new and interesting and useful information. The answer * * * I did not get till my return. The Dr. could not grant my request and expressed himself "doubly mortified ;" because he could not do me the favour and should also be deprived of my company."

In this portion he becomes reminiscent. Into this mood he was drawn by his yearning and tender concern for her whom he had left behind. The fact that Messrs. Edwards and Ewing were going back across the plains this year overcame his reluctance to take this route and to go at all. It was the "firm conviction of many of the Brethren that it was his duty to go," and he speaks "of many other weighty considerations," which "if they did not remove" all of his objections, "finally counterbalanced them." If the idea of colonization was entertained, or any special

¹ NOTE.—The notes taken on Umpqua trip were not recorded in this book.

political purpose, it did not find definite expression in his journal. This last portion was all written in one day—on July 28, 1838.

Nothing stands out more strongly in the document than the author's uniform affability and frank good will towards all with whom he came into personal relation, which evoked their kindest regard and friendship.

ADDRESS

By HON. W. D. FENTON.

The history of Jason Lee and his contemporaries is a narrative of the commencement of the great struggle of American citizens for the possession and retention of the Oregon Country. Before that time this section was in practical control and under the governmental influence of Great Britain, although nominally the two countries shared in the power and responsibility of joint occupation. The primal object in the mind of Jason Lee may not have been an intent to assert and protect the sovereignty of the United States. This was perhaps incidental to his chief purpose—that of missionary effort and desire to establish the Christian religion in these remote parts of the world.

Lee was of New England stock, although immediately from Canada at the time of his coming to the Oregon Country. The spirit of adventure, discovery and conquest was everywhere dominant. The Northwest coast for nearly fifty years before his coming had been the goal towards which the British Admiralty had directed several voyages of discovery, and in which the navigators of France and Russia had been generous rivals. This spirit of the sea had taken deep root in New England, and had given to the world the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray in 1792. Hall J. Kelley in 1817 began agitation for the occupation of the Columbia, and Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1832

had preceded Lee and his associates to this far West. The missionary followed closely the path of the trapper and hunter, of the voyager and the navigator.

On October 10, 1833, a missionary meeting was held in New York to arrange to send Jason Lee and Daniel Lee to the Flatheads, and \$3,000 in money was appropriated for this purpose. On November 20, 1833, in Forsyth Street Church in New York a farewell meeting was presided over by Bishop Hedding and addressed by Dr. McAuley of the Presbyterian Church. The religious spirit of New England and the Atlantic seaboard was concentrating a determined effort in the direction of the Indian country. By direction of the Board of Missions the Lees visited Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who had just returned to Boston from his first attempt to establish a trading post on the Lower Columbia River. The men chosen to accompany Jason Lee were Cyrus Shepard of Lynn, Massachusetts, thirty-five years of age, Philip L. Edwards, a Kentuckian, lately of Richmond, Missouri, Courtney M. Walker of Richmond was engaged also for a year to assist in the establishment of the mission. Edwards was only twenty-three years old. They left New York early in March, 1834, proceeding west leisurely, and Jason Lee here and there lectured as he traveled. They left from Independence, Missouri, April 28, 1834, having in their company in all seventy men divided into three distinct parties, and took with them two hundred and fifty horses. Wyeth and Sublette led the party, and with them were Townsend and Nuttall, two scientists. On July 27, 1834, they held Sunday services at Fort Hall, a fort built by Wyeth; and on September 15, 1834, the party arrived at Fort Vancouver, Lee having preceded the party. The brig *May Dacre*, Wyeth's vessel, was then lying at anchor at Wapato Island, now Sauvie's Island. Dr. John McLoughlin, the father of old Oregon, and whose name is revered by Protestant and Catholic alike, sent

them on horseback to the mission site, and also furnished a boat and crew to transfer their supplies from the brig in which they were successful about October 6, 1834. Lee preached a sermon at Vancouver on September 28, 1834, and again on December 14, 1834.

Mr. Bancroft, speaking of Jason Lee, says:

“At the time of his appointment to a position destined to be more conspicuous in Oregon’s history than at that time he could have surmised, Jason Lee was about thirty years of age, tall and powerfully built, slightly stooping, and rather slow and awkward in his movements; of light complexion, thin lips, closely shut, prominent nose, and rather massive jaws; eyes of superlative spiritualistic blue, high, retreating forehead, carrying mind within; somewhat long hair, pushed back, and giving to the not too stern but positively marked features a slightly puritanical aspect; and withal a stomach like that of an ostrich, which would digest anything. In attainments there was the broad open pasture of possibilities rather than a well-cultivated field of orchard, grain and vine land. He believed in the tenets of his church; indeed, whatever may become of him, howsoever he may behave under those varied and untried conditions which providence or fortune holds in store we may be sure that at this beginning, though not devoid of worldly ambition, he was sincere and sound to the core. Strong in his possession of himself, there was nothing intrusive in his nature. Though talking was a part of his profession, his skill was exhibited as much in what he left unsaid as in his most studied utterances. Frank and affable in his intercourse with men, he inspired confidence in those with whom he had dealings, and was a general favorite. If his intelligence was not as broad and bright as Burke’s, there was at least no danger of the heart hardening through the head, as with Robespierre and St. Just.”

His subsequent work justifies the estimate of the historian. While his first and dominating purpose was the work of the mission, he saw at once the possibilities of government and its close relation to the cause in which he was ostensibly and directly engaged. He prepared a petition and forwarded the same to Congress, and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts requested further information from him. Lee had returned to New England, and on January 17, 1839, wrote from Middletown, Connecticut, that there were in Oregon belonging to the Methodist Mis-

sion twenty-five persons of all ages and both sexes who would shortly be reinforced by forty-five others, making seventy. "As a matter of fact," says Bancroft, "the number reached was seventy-seven. There were sixteen persons belonging to the missions of the American Board, and about twenty settlers, missionaries and others, going out from the Western States in the spring: In addition to which there were about forty-five men settled in the country who had Indian wives and half-breed children."

The memorial drawn up before Lee left Oregon was presented to the Senate by Linn of Missouri on January 28, 1839, and on December 11, 1838, Linn, as you will recall, had introduced a bill in the Senate for the occupation of the Columbia, or Oregon, River, and to organize a territory north of 42 degrees and west of the Rocky Mountains to be called Oregon Territory. This measure also provided for the establishment of a fort on the Columbia, the occupation by a military force, the establishment of a port of entry, and the extension of the revenue laws of the United States over the country. Senator Linn followed this formal action on his part by a speech on the 22d of February, 1839, supporting a bill to provide for the protection of citizens of the United States then in the Territory of Oregon, or trading on the Columbia River. It is a matter of history that Jason Lee was the unseen hand behind this first active effort at Washington, and he was regarded in a special sense as the noncommissioned representative of the government of the United States.

At this time an appropriation of considerable money from the secret service fund of the United States was made for the charter of the ship *Lausanne*. This was known only to Jason Lee and was not revealed or disclosed until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain by the Ashburton Treaty of June 15, 1846.

It is not necessary at this time to recount prosy details of his life in the erection of the mission. In May, 1841, the first annual meeting of the Methodist Society was held here, and a committee appointed to select for the manual labor school a site not far from the mission mills on Chemeketa plain. Here a building costing ten thousand dollars was erected, and in this an Indian school was taught for about nine months, beginning in the autumn of 1842.

On the 17th of January, 1842, at the home of Jason Lee, a few men met to establish an educational institution for the benefit of white children, and I. L. Babcock, Gustavus Hines, and David Leslie were appointed a committee to undertake the work. A subsequent meeting was held at the old mission house on French Prairie on February 1, 1842, and it was there decided to name and found an institution of learning. The Oregon Institute thus became the first institution of learning upon the Pacific Coast. Its first board of trustees consisted of Jason Lee, Gustavus Hines, J. L. Parrish, L. H. Judson, David Leslie, George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, Hamilton Campbell, and I. L. Babcock. These men, under the leadership of Jason Lee, were building a commonwealth. They did not despise the day of small beginnings. They did their duty in the light of their opportunities, and although the site of this first American educational institution west of the Rocky Mountains has faded from the memory of all living men, and the timbers that entered into its frail structure have long since passed into dust, the efforts which they made and the example which they have set have left an imperishable impress upon the educational, political, and social institutions of the great Northwest.

It is also to the credit of Jason Lee that he suggested to Senator Linn the donation land law, and that the measure as suggested by him had no clause therein which pre-

vented foreigners of any nation from becoming citizens of Oregon, but bestowed upon every white male inhabitant 640 acres of land, and the Act of Congress of September 27, 1850, commonly called the Donation Act, carried out this purpose and intention, but provided that the grant should be made to a citizen of the United States or one having made a declaration according to law of his intention to become such citizen, or who should make such declaration on or before December 1, 1851.

While thus Lee was actively engaged in the far-seeing work of his mission and assisting in the direction of ultimate American supremacy, those who remained at home and had influence with the mission board secured his removal from the superintendency of the Oregon Mission. On reaching Honolulu, and before he stepped ashore, Doctor Babcock informed him that he had been superseded in the superintendency of the Oregon Mission by the Rev. George Gary, of the Black River conference, New York, who was then on his way to Oregon to investigate Lee's career since 1840, and he was given authority if he thought proper to close the affairs of the mission. Some of Lee's associates, and some of his rivals, whether from mistaken judgment or envy, had cut short his official career. Lee, while downcast and disappointed, was not discouraged. He was willing to face his accusers and render an account of his stewardship. It was Emerson, I believe, who said: "Cardinal Richelieu was not glaringly wrong, therefore, in the opinion that an unfortunate and an imprudent person are synonymous terms. Every man is placed, in some degree, under the influence of events and of other men; but it is for himself to decide whether he will rule, or be ruled by them. They may operate powerfully against him at times; but rarely so as to overwhelm him, if he bears up manfully, and with a stout, dogged will. In the battle of life we may be drawn as conscripts, but our cour-

age or our cowardice, our gentleness or our cruelty, depends upon ourselves. 'The Admiralty,' wrote Nelson, when expecting to command the finest fleet in the world, 'may order me a cock-boat, but I will do my duty.' " Such was the misfortune and such the spirit of Jason Lee.

When he left Oregon it was his intention to wait at the Islands for a vessel going to New York or Boston, and with the expectation that Mr. and Mrs. Gustavus Hines and his little daughter would accompany him. For a decade he had been superintendent of the Oregon Mission, and while he was in the dawn of his usefulness as it seemed to him and his friends he was removed. He did not wait for an American vessel, but, leaving his child, hurried on to New York by the Hawaiian schooner *Hoa Tita* for Mazatlan, thence to Vera Cruz, and to his destination.

Jason Lee did not long survive the attempted disgrace, for he died March 12, 1845, at Lake Memphramagog in the Province of Lower Canada. His last act was to make a small bequest to the institution for which he was laboring, and for the advancement of education in the country of his adoption.

I do not share the feeling entertained by some that there was any enmity or rivalry between Dr. John McLoughlin and Jason Lee. While there was controversy between McLoughlin and his friends and some of the leading spirits of the Methodist Mission with respect to the donation land claim at Oregon City in later years, it did not destroy or impair the relations of confidence and respect between Jason Lee and Doctor McLaughlin. On March 1, 1836, Doctor McLoughlin sent a subscription to Jason Lee for the benefit of the mission amounting to \$130.00 collected at Vancouver, and accompanied the subscription by this letter :

"Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1836.

The Rev. Jason Lee:

DEAR SIR: I do myself the pleasure to hand you the inclosed subscription, which the gentlemen who have signed it request you will do them the favor to accept for the use of the mission, and they pray our Heavenly Father, without whose assistance we can do nothing, that of his infinite mercy he may vouchsafe to bless and prosper your pious endeavors, and believe me to be, with esteem and regard, your sincere well wisher and humble servant.

JOHN McLOUGHLIN."

The activity of Jason Lee and his immediate associates under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church was emulated by Blanchet, who came from Canada in 1838, and DeSmet, who came from St. Louis and set up the first Catholic missions. In 1835 Parker and Whitman came, later came Walker and Eells, and in all this great country the names of these men, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Catholic, are honored with a hallowed memory for what they undertook to do, and for that which in great part they have succeeded. The important work of the Methodist Mission at Salem may have been,—in the annals of history,—regarded as a failure. Ten years of missionary effort, the primary object of which was to bring christianity to the Indians, cost the Methodist Episcopal Church a quarter of a million dollars, and this money thus expended, while wasted in the strict sense, in so far as its immediate work upon the Indian character and life was concerned, was not wholly lost. The mission brought nearly four score American citizens into the heart of the Oregon Country, and here they formed the nucleus of a great commonwealth. Here they founded an institution of learning. Here they introduced the customs and religion of civilized races. Here more than seventy years ago they planted the love of American institutions. If the Board of Missions in New York dismissed Jason Lee from the superintendency because of his patriotic effort to strengthen American influence here, they were less patri-

otic than he. If they dismissed him because of any alleged misappropriation of the funds of the society, they did not know the honesty of the man or the difficulties under which he labored. The historian Bancroft, further speaking upon this subject, says :

“That he had the ability to impress upon the Willamette Valley a character for religious and literary aspiration, which remains to this day; that he suggested the manner in which Congress could promote and reward American emigration, at the same time craftily keeping the government in some anxiety concerning the intention of the British Government and Hudson’s Bay Company, when he could not have been ignorant of the fact that so far as the country south of the Columbia was concerned, there was nothing to fear; that he so carefully guarded his motives as to leave even the sagacious McLoughlin in doubt concerning them, up to the time he left Oregon—all of these taken together exhibit a combination of qualities which were hardly to be looked for in the frank, easy tempered, but energetic and devoted missionary, who in the autumn of 1834 built his rude house beside the Willamette River, and gathered into it a few sickly Indian children whose souls were to be saved though they had not long to remain in their wretched bodies. How he justified the change in himself no one can tell. He certainly saw how grand a work it was to lay the foundation of a new empire on the shores of the Pacific, and how discouraging the prospect of raising a doomed race to a momentary recognition of its lost condition, which was all that ever could be hoped for the Indians of Western Oregon. There is much credit to be imputed to him as the man who carried to successful completion the dream of Hall J. Kelley and the purpose of Ewing Young. The means by which these ends were attained will appear more fully when I come to deal with

government matters. Taken all in all, I should say, "Honor to the Memory of Jason Lee."

And here I may be permitted to pay a word of tribute to the woman who gave her life as a sacrifice to the work of Jason Lee. By the courtesy of Miss Anna Pittman, a niece of Ann Maria Pittman, the first wife of Jason Lee, I have been permitted to read several autograph letters written by Mrs. Lee before she was married, and while she was preparing to come to Oregon. In her last letter of date June 9, 1836, written from New York to her brother, George W. Pittman, who was then at Troy, New York, but who in 1834 was at Fort Gibson, Arkansas River, Arkansas Territory, with the United States Dragoons, she said :

"I have taken my pen in hand to address you for the last time. The time is drawing nigh when I must bid a long farewell to all I love. I quit the scenes of my youth, the land of my birth, and in a far and distant land among strangers I expect to dwell. Soon the rolling billows of the tempestuous ocean, and the towering mountains, rugged steep, will intervene between us, and perhaps we see each others face no more. * * As the hour approaches for my departure, I still remain firm and undaunted ; I have nothing to fear, God has promised to be with me even to the end of the world. Dear brother, farewell ; may Heaven bless you, and oh remember your sister who goes not to seek the honours and pleasures of the world, but lays her life a willing sacrifice upon the altar of God."

This letter written in a bold and firm hand and signed "Anna Maria Pittman" breathes the spirit of the martyr. In a postscript to the letter she says :

"In the ship *Hamilton* we leave Boston the 1st July. The mission family will be in this city the 20th June when a farewell missionary meeting will be held. We will leave sometime that week. The number is nine, five are females, three are married."

She came and paid the sacrifice with her life. She was married to Jason Lee on the 16th day of July, 1837, not far from where Salem now stands. She died on the 26th of June, 1838, and is buried in the old mission cemetery. In that sacred spot where we are about to reinter

all that is mortal of Jason Lee, lies buried the wife of his youth and the infant son for whose birth her life was a sacrifice, the first white child born in the State of Oregon, the first white woman married, and as Mr. Gill has so well said, "the first to die in the Oregon Country." Upon her tombstone you will read to-day at Mission Cemetery, Salem, these words: "Beneath this sod, the first broken in Oregon for the reception of white mother and child, lie the remains of Ann Maria Pittman Lee." This man and this woman together will sleep at last. The work which they did has outlived them. She in her sphere, and he in his, performed well their part. Jason Lee was by birth, education and training a devout enthusiast and loyal patriot and the prophet of a new State. His life illustrates again the truth of the statement that to achieve success there must be a single purpose, and energies must not be wasted or dissipated in attempting to do well more than one thing.

"There is always room for a man of force, and he makes room for many. Society is a troop of thinkers and the best heads among these take the best places. A feeble man can *see the farms that are fenced and tilled*, the houses that are *built*. The strong man sees the *possible* houses and farms. His eye makes estates as fast as the sun breeds clouds."

Jason Lee with the eye of prophecy saw in 1834 the great commonwealth of 1906. He saw the march and power of empire, and that the flag of his country would in less than a century wave from Panama to Behring Straits. The republic was to reach the zenith of its power on these shores. His work is done. The record of his life has been written. We cannot add to or take from that record, and the simple ceremonies attending this hour but feebly record the final chapter in the life of the great Methodist missionary, educator, pioneer, and statesman.

“What men most covet, wealth, distinction, power,
Are baubles nothing worth; they only serve
To rouse us up, as children at the school
Are roused up to exertion; our reward
Is in the race we run, not in the prize,
Those few to whom is given what they ne’er earned,
Having by favour or inheritance
The dangerous gifts placed in their hands,
Know not, nor ever can, the generous pride
That glows in him who on himself relies,
Entering the lists of life. He speeds beyond
Them all, and foremost in the race succeeds.
His joy is not that he has got his crown,
But that the power to win the crown is his.”

ADDRESS

By DR. J. R. WILSON.

The history of civilization has been advanced through the operation of various and diverse motives in individual men and groups or communities of men. Almost every motive that has carried civilized men into regions hitherto unknown has resulted in some enlargement of the borders of civilization, even though this has not been an avowed end. In almost every movement that has enlarged the horizon of man’s knowledge of the earth, or widened the domain of civilized society, men have acted without either of these ends in view. The occasions when discoverers or explorers or pioneers have made the widening of our knowledge for knowledge’s sake, or the advancement of the limits of civilized life, their conscious or avowed end have been the exception rather than the rule.

The Phœnicians, in the early centuries, did much to enlarge civilized man’s knowledge of the earth, and to carry westward through the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the knowledge and civilized life of the Orient, but the motive in their westward movement was commerce

and trade. The Greeks, and after them the Romans, did much to expand man's knowledge of the outlying regions of Asia and Europe, much, too, for the carrying into those regions their several civilizations, but their motive was that of empire and commerce. So, too, of those wonderful voyages and explorations culminating in and following upon the discovery of America.

Their moving cause was not the desire to enlarge human knowledge, not to carry forward the frontiers of civilized life, but it was primarily to discover and open a new pathway to the riches of the East, a motive made urgent when the inroads of the Turks had closed to Western Europe the trade routes of Asia.

The explorations and settlements of Christian missionaries in the early centuries of our era, penetrating as they did to the remote and rude peoples of Europe; the settlement of the Puritan on the coast of New England; the missions of Jesuits circling the far horizon of the New World like a line of light from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, all belong to movements resulting from higher and exceptional motives. So of the early mission settlements of Oregon.

The coming of white men to Oregon before the coming of Jason Lee and his company was chiefly for the purpose of trade. Whatever settlements such earlier coming contemplated, or resulted in, had trade for their primary object. The kind of trade, too, was such as contemplated the preserving of the country as far as possible in its native wildness, and of the inhabitants in their uncivilized state. The fur trade, which hitherto had been the chief inducement for white men to come to the Oregon Country, would not have been furthered by any movement that had resulted in the colonization and cultivation of the country, or which had induced to settled life and civilized occupations its wild and roving inhabitants.

Nor would the purposes of the early settlers have been subserved by the bringing of this country by any man fully to the knowledge of the civilized world. It was to their interests rather that both the country and its inhabitants remain as long as possible both wild and unknown.

When, therefore, Jason Lee set foot on Oregon soil it marked the coming into this region of a wholly new purpose. Not all that has resulted from his coming was intended or dreamed of at the first. It was the people he sought, not the country; it was for their enlightenment in the life and hopes of the gospel that he crossed the continent and made his home among them, not for the exploiting of their country and the enrichment of himself through their toil.

It was one of the great sorrows of his life that he was compelled to see those for whose sake he came, and to whom for years he delighted to minister, waste away with disease and fall from the land, until at last the people that once gathered in his home and to his ministry were no more.

Coincident with the rapid decay of the Indian was the coming in increasing numbers of the white man. Painful as the failing of the native people was to the warm and earnest heart of Jason Lee, and disappointing as it was to his first and highest desires for his mission, he was not long in recognizing the changed conditions of his work in Oregon, or in adapting himself to them. Here at the seat of the original mission his mission to the Indian was practically closed at the end of six years. The Indian, parent and child, was gone. With a wasting away, unspeakably sad, he saw the tribe once numerous, which had gathered to his ministry, fall day by day under the ravages of disease, and himself powerless to arrest its decay.

The object of his ministry was now no longer the same, but his unselfish purpose to serve his fellowmen was unchanged. The white man who had come to Oregon

needed his service not less than the Indian who had gone had needed it, and he was not less willing to give it to the one than he had been to give it to the other. Accordingly, from 1840 on to the close of his life we find him addressing himself with untiring zeal and unflagging energy to the work of providing the opportunities of education for the children of the white settlers of Oregon.

The hope of redeeming a savage people had vanished with the people itself. In its place came the not less inspiring purpose of laying, in the education of the white people who were fast taking their places, deep and broad the foundations of the great state which he now foresaw must sooner or later occupy this favored region.

With this change in the conditions of the mission and in his purpose in the work came the great tragedy of his life. The necessity of his recognizing and addressing himself to the changed conditions of the mission was clear enough to him, as it must have been to all who like him were thoroughly acquainted with the rapid and remarkable change that within a half a decade had taken place in this region. But what he and others saw so clearly was not so easy to make clear to the officers of the mission board which commissioned him to work among the Indians. Distance and the representations of those who were less fully acquainted with them, or less clear-sighted and far-sighted than himself, made his task doubly difficult.

The making of himself right with the church which had commissioned him was his last earthly task. To this he addressed himself with the same courage and singleness of purpose which he carried into every task. Leaving behind his only child, a daughter of tender years, with trusted friends, and turning his back upon this land of his love and great and single purpose, with infinite toil and difficulty he made his way to the other side of the conti-

nent, that he might make clear to those to whom under God he was accountable the wisdom and the entire rightness of his conduct and purpose.

He succeeded, but at the sacrifice of his life. When his task was done and his honor vindicated, the limit of his vital power was reached. Still hoping that he might return to the work he loved, he got quickly away to the home of his boyhood, that he might there recruit his failing strength. But his hope proved vain. But a few weeks of failing strength and his work was done.

Jason Lee died in the prime of manhood, just when he seemed to have his hands upon the instrumentalities of a larger work for the land of his love and adoption. But the work he did was great enough to have gratified a larger ambition than was his. It is not to be measured by the completed results as he saw them. It was initiative in its character, and is to be measured by the farther reach of that to which it led.

The ceremony of this day in laying Jason Lee's dust in the soil of this noble State, whose rise here he foresaw and for which he hoped and prayed and toiled, is but a late and worthy answer to that mute and unutterable longing of heart with which in his last conscious moments he turned his eyes to the Western sky and breathed his latest prayer for the land of his love that lay beyond its horizon.

Oregon has received and holds the ashes of many noble men and women who have had an honorable part in the founding and rearing of this commonwealth, but holds the ashes of none more worthy of lasting and grateful remembrance than was he whose ashes we shall commit this day to the sacred soil of these historic precincts.

ADDRESS

By HON. J. C. MORELAND.

In accordance with the directions of the Oregon Pioneer Society, expressed at its meeting a year ago, we have met here in the city that he founded to pay tribute to the memory of Oregon's first and greatest American pioneer, Jason Lee. He came solely as a missionary to the Indians. He soon saw the possibilities and the vast resources and the great value of this country.

He soon saw that when the final settlement of the ownership of this country between this Nation and Great Britain then held under the treaty of joint occupation should come, that ownership would largely be determined by the citizenship of its settlers.

The work that he did to colonize the country with American citizens under the trying difficulties of the situation proved of incalculable value. In arousing the authorities at Washington to the value of the Oregon Country his work and the information that he gave contributed in a large measure to the final happy result.

Jason Lee was a remarkable man—of great determination and wonderful foresight, but like others of the great benefactors of his race, he was not understood in his time. Through ignorance of the situation, his church dismissed him from the control of its affairs here, most unjustly and cruelly. But he could safely trust his appeal to that unerring tribunal—truth and time.

His vindication has come—the church has acknowledged its mistake, and to-day his bones will be laid in final sepulture in the cemetery he selected seventy years ago, with all the honors that the church can bestow, and all people in this great Oregon Country pay homage to his memory.

In the time that tried men's souls he was true and faithful, and the impartial verdict of history will be that of all those who lie buried in this fair land "none had greater glory though there be many dead and much glory."

ADDRESS

By HON. H. W. SCOTT.

The history of the origin of each of our states lies in the biography and character of the few who were first actors in the history. It is a record, therefore, of the individual lives of men and women rather than of great events. Such were the opening scenes of the history of Oregon.

I refer now, not to the first discoveries and explorations, but to the conditions that started the permanent settlement and began the continuous social and political life of Oregon. But when we are able to take up the history of a commonwealth from its very beginning, and in particular when that beginning was in smallest things, of recent development, almost wholly under our own eyes, there is obvious advantage. We are able to see clearly, assign the founders to their proper places, and to accord them severally their meed of fame.

There is something unsatisfactory in beginning a history with the mature state of a country. As in biography, so in history, we desire to go back to the cradle and see the growth of social and political life from the first small beginnings. There is, moreover, not a little difficulty in finding a later moment which will afford a real starting point. In a mature state each condition is the result of what went before, and the human mind feels compelled to seek causes for this as for every other effect.

The absence of written documents in the early ages obliges us to form all our ideas of primitive history from

oral traditions, handed down from generation to generation. These become more or less changed by lapse of time and are accompanied with superstition and a belief in the miraculous intervention of the Divinity—a doctrine which it enhances while it envelops the pride of a people with a halo of glory.

But we have for the origins of the history of Oregon abundance of written and printed contemporary material; and we know, therefore, we are on the sure and solid ground of historical truth. Here, however, are disadvantages, because there is little room for play of the imagination. The poetry is lost.

One who stands as an actor on the threshold of such a new movement has great advantage in this, that though his labors may be arduous, he has a chance, a certainty almost, of reaching a place in the memory of posterity. And after all, fame is something, and it is something to win even remembrance among men. Though a great poet declares the desire of fame “the last infirmity of the noble mind,” yet the desire is one that justifies itself in the lives of men, and even at the bar of human history. For none would live without notice or praise, if he could gain it, nor pass to the infinite unknown leaving no mention or memorials of his name.

I am not now intending to give a sketch of the early history of Oregon, but shall attempt some account or estimate of one of the leading actors in it, incidentally only referring to others. I avoid claims made for one and another, and all controversy as to who “saved Oregon”; for in my conception Oregon was secured to the United States by a train of events in which numerous persons were important actors. Nevertheless, I must give chief credit for our beginning as an American state to the missionary effort, of which Jason Lee was the protagonist.

Attempts were made prior to the coming of Jason Lee, but they were failures. I need not speak of Astor's unsuccessful undertaking; nor of the failure of succeeding adventurers, Wyeth and Bonneville, whose enterprises were those of traders; nor of the attempted colonization by Hall J. Kelley, which ended even more disastrously. It was not until the American missionaries entered and possessed the country, neither as traders nor as secular colonizers, though in reality willing to become both, that a foothold was gained for the occupation of Oregon by American settlers. With exception of Felix Hathaway, who had come by ship in 1829, of Solomen Smith, of Clatsop, and perhaps one or two more who had come with Wyeth's first expedition in 1832, there were, so far as I am able to ascertain, no Americans in Oregon when Jason Lee and his four companions came in 1834. Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young coming from California, arrived the same year, a little later.

A word here about the members of this first missionary party of five persons, beginning with Jason and Daniel Lee. Jason Lee was a man of earnest and energetic character. He was devoted to ideals, yet one could not say that he was a man of great original genius. Such, indeed, are not numerous in our world. But he was sincere, strong in his convictions and in himself. He was a man of sincere piety, of settled beliefs, and was fit for the work in which he was to engage. It was a hopeless scheme, indeed—that of educating and civilizing the Indians of that time, but he didn't know it, and therefore didn't trouble himself with doubts. He believed fully in the future of this great country, yet was scarcely aware that the Indian could not be a factor in it. On the contrary, he thought the Indian might be. This was a mistake. But what he did was to lead the way to American colonization.

The second man was Daniel Lee, nephew of the former, thoroughly devoted to the idea of the mission, young and ardent, not idealistic, but practical, with a world of good common sense and with a willingness to work. He labored in the missionary cause in Oregon till August, 1843, when he left the country, never to return. The ill-health of his wife required his departure with her. They left by sea. Daniel Lee continued in the ministry in the Eastern States during many years, and died in Oklahoma in 1895.

With the Lees from New York came Cyrus Shepard, from Lynn, Massachusetts. He was thoroughly devoted to the work for which he had engaged, but had not the physical constitution necessary for its hardships. After his arrival in Oregon, he married a Miss Downing, who came out by sea in the *Hamilton*, with the White party, arriving in 1837. Shepard died in January, 1840. His wife and two children survived him.

Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, and Cyrus Shepard were the original party. In Missouri they engaged two young men for their adventure—Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker.

Edwards was a native of Kentucky. In his early boyhood his father removed to Missouri. Here at the age of twenty-two he joined the Lee expedition to Oregon. He taught a school at Champoege in 1835, and in 1836 went to California to obtain cattle for the settlers in Oregon. With Ewing Young he returned with a band of nearly 1200, which laid the foundation for rapid accumulation of the comforts of life and future wealth. In March, 1837, Edwards took the trail for the East, over the plains, with Jason Lee and two Indian boys. Returning to his old home in Missouri, he entered the field of politics and was elected to the legislature. He was chairman of the delegation from Missouri to the National convention at Balti-

more in 1844, which nominated Henry Clay for the Presidency. At Richmond, Missouri, he practiced law successfully till 1850, when he went overland to California, and in 1855 was in the legislature of that state as a representative from Sacramento. Wherever he lived he was always a man of note. He died at Sacramento in 1869.

The fifth member of this pioneer missionary party was Courtney M. Walker. He was engaged in Missouri, upon a contract for one year, to assist in establishing the mission. He never left Oregon, but took an Indian wife, lived in Yamhill, and left a posterity now I think extinct. As I remember him he was a courtly gentleman who, towards the end of his life managed to dress well, and had the appearance of a man of culture and leisure. A daughter, Helen, married a lawyer in Yamhill, named John Cummins, who in 1862 was a representative of that county in the legislature. Cummins and wife went to Washington City, where he practiced law. She died there, after a few years, leaving no children. The offspring of white marriages with Indians, though often worthy persons, seldom were long lived.

I give these details, picked up out of many sources of information, not readily accessible. But they possess an interest, since they lie at the basis of the creation of the states of the Pacific Northwest; and the smallest details of the beginning of great things have human interest and historic value.

All accounts of the missionary movement to Oregon begin with the story of the four Flathead Indians, who in 1832 made their way over mountains and plains to St. Louis, on a journey whose object the missionary spirit tells us was to obtain religious instruction for themselves and their people. I confess this story has always seemed to me to have a mythical element in it; and Daniel Lee in his book intimates that the later development of the

story was subject to doubt. Nevertheless, he tells us that Gen. William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, told him in 1834 that two years before—that is, in 1832—four Indians, probably Nez Perces, had accompanied a party of white trappers from the mountains to St. Louis, and had given him an interesting account of their journey and its objects. From the trappers they had heard of the white man's God, and the Book he had given, and they wanted to know. General Clark was not a doctor of theology, and appears to have answered them in merely conventional terms. The story carried by the newspapers to the East touched the religious imagination, and served the missionary purpose just as well as if the sole object for which the Indians had accompanied the trappers was to make these inquiries. Certain it is that the cause which started the first of our missionaries to Oregon was publication in New York of this simple Indian story. Let not incredulity smile at the simplicity of the recital. This is the true beginning of the history of the making of Oregon.

The missionary expedition did not find its resting place in the country of the Nez Perces or the Flatheads, according to the original intention. It fell in with the Wyeth party and came on down to the Willamette, then the settlement of a few of the men of the Hudson Bay Company—British subjects, most of whom had taken Indian wives. The Wyeth party was to meet at the mouth of the Willamette the little vessel which Wyeth had dispatched from Boston, with goods for the Indian trade. The destination of the Wyeth party determined also that of the Lee party. Both were received with kindness by Doctor McLoughlin, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Shepard remained at Vancouver, detained by sickness. Jason Lee and Courtney Walker came on up the Willamette by boat, and Daniel Lee and Edwards took horses, for which they were indebted to the kindness of Doctor McLoughlin, and

joined the others at the site chosen for the mission on the Willamette, a few miles below the present city of Salem. It was not till after much deliberation that the mission was established [at that place, for we are told that the merits of different portions of the country were considered—the Flatheads, the Nez Perces, the Cayuse and other tribes were carefully reviewed, but to the exclusion of all others the Willamette Valley was selected, chiefly because it was “strongly recommended by Doctor McLoughlin and the rest of the gentlemen at Vancouver.” How, in the face of the testimony like this, delivered by the American missionaries themselves, it could have been supposed or told later, that the British people in the country were enemies of our people, passes comprehension.

Yet there was sharp competition between the subjects of Great Britain and the American newcomers in Oregon, for ascendancy in the country. The claims of both countries extended to the entire area, from the 42d parallel to 54-40. In truth, however, neither party could hope to maintain its claim entire. Such was the situation that compromise was inevitable. Our claim to the country north of the 49th parallel was weak. As weak was the British claim to the Columbia and especially weak to the territory south of the Columbia River. Neither party therefore was able wholly to exclude the other, though for a time each bravely made an exclusive claim. The talk on our side of “fifty-four forty or fight” was merely the cry of a party among our own people. Say rather, it was the insolence of partisanship, for Great Britain’s claims, through discovery, exploration and occupation, to a standing below “fifty-four forty” rested on a basis too solid to be disposed of in this way; and besides our claim to “fifty-four forty” rested merely on a convention between the United States and Russia, through which the latter had named “fifty-four forty” as the southern boundary of her

American possessions. But to this convention Great Britain had not been a party, and she justly declared that her rights could not be concluded by any negotiation in which she had not participated, or in whose results she had not promised acquiescence. The question, therefore, was still open between Great Britain and the United States. Both countries had undoubted claims. Great Britain, by retrocession of Astoria to the United States, after the War of 1812, had acknowledged our right in the country, and still was acknowledging it; though she was occupying the country, and we were not—down to the arrival of the American traders and missionaries in 1832–34. Yet Great Britain, through her channels of diplomatic intercourse—whatever her people here may have said or claimed—never made any serious pretension to the territory south of the Columbia River, but had insisted on that stream as the boundary line. But we had, through Gray's discovery, the exploration of Lewis and Clark, and the settlement of Astoria—even though Astoria had capitulated—a chain of title that made it impossible for us to consider this claim. Still, there could be no termination of the dispute till the slow migration of our people to the Oregon Country gradually established American influence here; and finally the large migration of 1843 gave the Americans decided preponderance, especially in the country south of the Columbia. Into this competition our missionary people were plunged. Indeed, they led the way in it, and to their efforts, mainly, was due the agitation that led to increase of American immigration from our states and gave our people the ascendancy. That there were no collisions here of serious character between the representatives of the different countries was due to good common sense on both sides, to mutual forbearance, and to common language and kinship. The reception accorded to our people by the English was uniformly considerate. We have seen how

they interested themselves in the settlement of our first missionaries, and remembrance of the benevolence of Doctor McLoughlin to our people, shown many long years, is a possession that will be cherished in our history forever.

In every sketch of the early history of Oregon it is necessary to make some statement of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States over rights of sovereignty here, I shall not pursue the subject, but must mention it, for it is the key to our pioneer history, and the fact must ever be borne in mind, when dealing with any part of the theme.

As missionaries to the Indians, the little band and those who came after them can not be said to have been successful. After few years not many Indians remained to be educated and civilized. This was not the fault of the missionaries, but the inevitable and universal consequence, repeated here, of contact of the white and Indian races. But, as settlers and colonizers, our missionaries "came out strong." They, with the reinforcements sent out during the next ten years, became the chief force that Americanized Oregon and held the country till the general immigration began to arrive.

The Presbyterians followed the Methodists in the missionary effort. Samuel Parker was sent out in 1835. Whitman came in 1836. Reinforcement to the Methodist mission arrived by sea in the spring of 1837. Its leader was Dr. Elijah White. Doctor White and wife sailed from Boston in the ship *Hamilton* July 2, 1836. They came by way of the Sandwich Islands. With them came a dozen persons, for work in the mission, including three young women who became wives of missionaries. Of these details I can give no more in so brief an address as this must be, than are necessary to the main purpose of a short and rapid narrative. Within a year after this reinforcement arrived, Jason Lee, realizing the need of a still stronger

force for the work, started East over the plains. This was in 1838, more than five years before "Whitman's ride," undertaken for a similar purpose. Passing through Peoria, Illinois, in the winter of 1838, he delivered a lecture on Oregon. This started a party of young men from Peoria for Oregon in the spring of 1839. The party disagreed and divided. A portion of it passed the winter at Brown's Hole, on Green River, some miles below where the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad now crosses that stream. In the spring of 1840 it came on to Oregon, arriving at Vancouver in May, 1840. In this Peoria party were Joseph Holman, Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, and Francis Fletcher, all of whom lived to old age and left descendants, now living in various parts of the State.

Before he had arrived at the end of his journey eastward, Jason Lee heard of the death of his wife in Oregon shortly after he had left her. Bowing as man must to so great a grief and loss, yet his purpose was not shaken. He bestirred himself with all energy to obtain further help for the mission in Oregon, and in October, 1839, with a large party that included many names which became widely known in our pioneer life, sailed from New York in the bark *Lausanne* for the Columbia River. The vessel arrived in the river just as the Peoria party which had started a year earlier came down the Columbia to Vancouver, that is, in May, 1840. The party that came by the *Lausanne* became known in missionary annals as "the great reinforcement."

White left Oregon in July, 1840, by sea, for New York. In 1842 he came out again to Oregon, over the plains. With him came a large party, among whom were persons afterwards well known in the history of Oregon as J. R. Robb, S. W. Moss, Medorem Crawford, the Pomeroy's, Andrew and Darling Smith, and many more. White himself went back over the plains in 1845; came again to Ore-

gon via Panama in 1861, with a commission from President Lincoln for an industrial scheme among the Indians, but, finding it impracticable — most of the Indians having passed away — remained but a short time and departed for California. He spent the last years of his life in San Francisco, where he died in 1879.

Of course, it is known and acknowledged on all sides that the missionary enterprise led by Jason Lee was not the only one in the early history of Oregon that left its impress on the life of the country, directed its course and determined its destiny. There were other similar undertakings, but this one was the first, and, on the whole, more powerful than any other. After the Whitman massacre, all Protestant missions in the Upper Columbia region were abandoned, and the people came to the Willamette Valley.

But it was not merely to obtain a reinforcement for the mission that Lee prosecuted his work in the Eastern States. His was the first work done by a resident of Oregon, to induce the Government of the United States to aid in colonization and support of the country, to settle it with American people, and to establish here an American State. Knowing also that commerce must attend the settlement of the country, he made representations to the Cushings of Massachusetts, which interested them in commercial effort in this direction; and this brought John H. Couch to Oregon in 1840, in the bark *Maryland*, with goods for the trade, and again in the *Chenamus*, in 1844.

The Catholic missions in Oregon were started in 1838, four years later than the Methodist, and two years later than the Presbyterian.

Jason Lee, leaving Oregon in 1838 and reaching the Atlantic States early in 1839, at once directed his efforts to the purposes he had in view, and for which he had made the tedious journey over the plains. Before he started for Oregon he and P. L. Edwards, who had come

with him, drew up a memorial to Congress, which was signed by Lee and Edwards, by every member of the mission at Willamette station, by seventeen other American citizens, nearly all at that time in the country, and by nine French Canadians who desired to become citizens of the United States. The object of the memorial was to induce the Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon Country, and to encourage its settlement by American citizens. It was dated March 16, 1838. Lee carried this memorial to Washington. It was an elaborate statement of the merits and value of the Oregon Country, and the first appeal made to the Government of the United States by any body of the American settlers in Oregon, for assertion by Congress of the rights and sovereignty of the United States. "Our interests," said these petitioners in Oregon, "are identical with those of our own country. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great State, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. We are fully aware, too, that the destinies of our posterity will be deeply affected by the character of those who emigrate to this country. The territory must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom ; by the reckless and unprincipled adventurer, the refugee from Botany Bay, the wanderer from South America, the deserting seaman, or by our own hardy and enterprising pioneers." Further, the position of Oregon on the Pacific Coast, and its necessary relations to future commerce were explained, and strong appeal was added that the United States should at once "take formal possession."

It is not my intention to claim merit for one at the expense of another. All our pioneers did well. All performed their part. But it is due to the truth of history to show that Jason Lee was the leader in colonial as in missionary work in Oregon, and that his journey to the East in the

interests of Oregon, and his appeal to Washington, antedated the journey and the appeal of Whitman by five years.

We have said the contest between our own people and the subjects of Great Britain for possession of the Oregon Country was the key to our pioneer history. It stimulated the early migration and hastened the settlement. The missionary stations were outposts on the line of colonization. It was through their appeals, chiefly, that the Oregon Country was brought to the attention of the pioneer spirit, ever moving westward; and it is not too much to say that most of those who came to Oregon during the first twenty years of settlement and growth were moved to come by the agitation begun and carried on by those engaged in the missionary cause.

There is a vague instinct which leads restless spirits to leave their native country in early life to try fortune elsewhere. Each thinks, no doubt, that beyond his visual horizon there lies new moral space, with large, though unknown, opportunities. Change of place is the natural demand of this restlessness of spirit. The world, through all ages, has received the benefit of it; it has been one of the great moving forces in the history of our race. Our Oregon of to-day is a product of it.

The Indian races of Oregon, and in particular of Western Oregon, rapidly melted away. But among the white settlers, fast increasing in numbers after 1840, there was growing field of religious, moral, and educational work. Jason Lee had remarried; and again his wife was called away by death. Sore as was the bereavement, he pursued his work. New demands were constantly arising, and to meet these he deemed it necessary to make another journey to the Eastern States for additional assistance. Parting with his collaborators in the missions, and leaving his infant daughter, he sailed from the Columbia River in November, 1843, just after the arrival of the great immi-

gration of that year. Passing through Mexico, he reached New York in May, 1844. Thence he went again directly to Washington to urge once more upon the Government the necessity of terminating the joint occupation of Oregon and of establishing quickly and definitely the sovereignty of the United States. But Jason Lee was never to see Oregon again. Conferences with his missionary board, and work of preparation for larger efforts in Oregon, occupied him during the remainder of the year 1844. But his arduous labors, the privations, and sacrifices of more than ten years had broken his constitution, and in March, 1845, his mortal part passed from earth. But his spirit is here, and the work he set in motion is a possession here forever. It is fit that Oregon should recover his dust and that her soil should hold it, as the life of her people holds his spirit. Yet human glory was not his aim. His object was a higher one, and he achieved it. His name lives; yet of such mould was he that, assured as he was that the Almighty Judge could not forget, even the oblivion of man could have been no matter to him.

He was still young—not yet 42 years of age; but “virtue, not length of days, the mind matures”; and, “that life is long which answers life’s great end.”

A great nature is a seed. The spirit of life and of action which springs from it grows and will grow among men forever. Thus it is that man is the only being that can not die. The poet tells us in mournful cadence that the path of glory leads but to the grave. But this is true only in a superficial sense. The path of true glory does not end in the grave. It passes through it, to larger opportunities of service—into a spirit that it stimulates and feeds, and into the spirit that survives it, in men’s minds forever.

Not long remembered would Jason Lee have been—we may suppose—but for the fortune of opportunity that sent him to Oregon. With all men of action it is so. But for

his opportunity, given by the Civil War, General Grant would have no name. How slight the original incidents that have linked the name of Jason Lee inseparably with the history of Oregon! The Protestant missions failed, as missions, but they were the main instruments that peopled Oregon with Americans. That is, they were more successful than their authors ever dreamed they could be. They established the foundations of the sovereignty of the United States in the Pacific Northwest. The mission was the first low wash of the waves where now rolls this great human sea, to increase in power, we may believe, throughout all ages.

Jason Lee, though a preacher of power, relied not on the graces of pulpit eloquence. Deep was his earnestness, but he was not a showy man. His journey to the West and his work herein vastly extended his spiritual and intellectual vision. Bancroft, in his study of the character of Lee, says: "No discipline of lecture room, general ministration, or other experience, could have been so valuable a preparation for his duties as the rude routine of the days of his overland journey. It seemed to him as if his theological sea had suddenly become boundless, and he might sail unquestioned whithersoever the winds should carry him. It was delightful, this cutting loose from conventionalisms, for even Methodist preachers are men. Not that there was present any inclination toward a relaxation of principles, as is the case with so many on leaving home and all its healthful influences; on the contrary, he felt himself more than ever the chosen of God, as he was thus brought nearer him in nature, where he was, sustained and guarded by day, and at night enfolded in his starry covering. Fires, both physical and mental, blazed brightly, and he was not a whit behind the most efficient of his company in willingness, ability and courage." This is the testimony

of a writer who, throughout his monumental work on the origins of the Pacific States, has shown little disposition to laud the missionaries, or to accord them more than their due.

It is small business either to disparage or flatter the ministry. But we may, even at the the grave, speak of the minister as a man. Theology, like conscience, belongs to the private property of each communion; we shall not invade its precincts nor call its devotees to question. But putting aside the doctrine of the priest and considering only the sacerdotal calling in its relations to the world, we must acknowledge the moral superiority and exalted privileges which this profession offers to the man of genius, spirit and virtue who devotes himself to its exercise. On this basis the missionaries to Oregon, of all denominations, Protestant and Catholic, are to be judged without loss to them of any element of worthy reputation.

Of the two women who shared with Jason Lee the labors of his life in Oregon, the annals of the time are full of appreciative notice and description. Each was a type of devoted womanhood. Though they gave all for the opportunity to labor in this then unknown field, and sacrificed their lives in it, they are fortunate in name and fame. The first wife, Anna Maria Pittman, died in May, 1838; the second, Lucy Thompson, in March, 1842. Sorrowful fatality, due to the conditions of remote pioneer life, in which woman had to bear more than her part, and yet in her hour of need could not have the assistance that her sisters in more favored circumstances receive. Such were some of the sacrifices of the pioneer time through which this country was prepared as a dwelling place for the succeeding generations.

It is difficult for any generation to estimate rightly its contemporary men and women of real worth. There are many mistaken estimates. After the Restoration in Eng-

land, John Milton was overlooked and forgotten. Though the literary defender of the commonwealth and regicides, he was regarded as too unimportant for notice. His obscurity secured him immunity from prosecution, and he died unnoticed. But so great is he now that Kings and Princes and nobles of his time walk about under his shadow; the very age that neglected him is now known as "The Age of Milton," and receives its luster from his name. Mind and spirit are the controlling forces of the world. Men of preëminence can be estimated only by their peers. Equality of judgment is too scantily bestowed in any living generation to insure a correct decision, to settle the scale of pretension, to arrange the gradations of favor, or the definitive place or title which each is to occupy in the ranks of fame. Contemporary men often pronounce that to be greatest which approaches nearest to themselves, since they are able to look upon it with the distinctness of close proximity. But the judgment is with the future time. We get no proper sense of the majesty of our mountain peaks when near them. We must draw back a little if we would take in their full grandeur.

On this view the work of our missionaries in Oregon rises to proportions more and more majestic, as we study it from the standpoint of history and of consequences; and though others bore lofty spirits and did great work, no name stands or will stand above that of Jason Lee.

ADDRESS

By JUDGE R. P. BOISE.

In 1835 Nathaniel J. Wyeth had been defeated in his enterprise to establish trade and a settlement of white men in the valley of the Columbia River by the mo-

nopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was obliged to sell all his interests in the company to that all-powerful corporation; the historian relates that when Wyeth left and this whole region seemed to fall under British influence and dominion, Jason Lee, the missionary, remained. From him and his religious associates soon radiated a moral and educational influence that afterward became a light that illumined the darkness that overshadowed this then almost barbarous region.

The country was still in the possession of wild Indian tribes, and was then the hunting preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, which every year sent out its trappers and traders and gathered in a rich harvest of furs, which had built up the enormous wealth of that great monopoly—which then dominated and seemed destined to control the future destiny and sovereignty of the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains and north of California.

When, in 1834, Jason Lee had made his difficult and perilous journey from St. Louis to Fort Vancouver, Doctor McLoughlin, who then ruled this country with imperial sway, being familiar with its physical condition, well knowing that the country was rich in agricultural resources, and believing its future sovereignty secure to the crown of Great Britain, saw in the person of Mr. Lee a devout Christian, an educated and energetic man—one especially qualified to enlighten, develop, and improve the settlement of his Hudson's Bay employees, which he had planted on the rich prairie lands in what is now the northern part of this county.

The Doctor therefore encouraged and finally persuaded Mr. Lee to establish his mission near this infant settlement. The acceptance of the friendly suggestion and advice of Doctor McLoughlin, and the planting of his mission in the Willamette Valley, was a fortunate move for

the future sovereignty and welfare of this country, as the history of its results has most fully demonstrated.

From this nucleus of Christian civilization went forth streams of influence that not only benefited the Indians, but as well, educated, enlightened, and elevated the settlement founded by Doctor McLoughlin, and also the few white settlers then in the country.

The missionaries who crossed the plains and mountains to reach this country, were indeed the earliest of the pioneers. They were messengers of civilization, who spied out the land and opened highways for future immigrants, and gave to the people of the Eastern States accurate information as to the agricultural value of the country; that it was rich in soil, had a mild and healthful climate, and would produce in abundance and perfection all the staple products of the temperate zones; that it was a lovely land to look upon, unsurpassed in scenic beauties, with rivers of pure water flowing through valleys as fair as where Arcadian plains extend, or the famed Hydaspes flows.

This information, sent back by the missionaries and others to their former homes in the States, created great interest in this country, and these tidings from the missionaries in far-off Oregon aroused an interest among the people in the Eastern States that caused many daring and energetic men and women to make the long and dangerous journey across the plains to possess this fair land. They brought with them ideas of liberty and free government by the people, and their coming saved this vast, rich and beautiful country to the sovereignty and dominion of the United States.

Mr. Lee was not only a devout minister of his church, but like many other of his brethren, he understood the necessities and physical wants of a civilized and thrifty community. He built mills to supply food and lumber.

He established schools to teach the Indians, and whites as well; he laid the foundation of what is now the Willamette University, and built houses and barns to shelter men and beasts. He made provisions to bring cattle from California for the use of the mission and settlers.

He was a man of broad and comprehensive ideas, and saw and provided by every means in his power for the needs of the coming state, and spent his short, earnest and most useful life in laying the foundations of the moral and intellectual structure of this commonwealth.

The period of his active missionary life was short, for he died at his work in his early manhood; but few men in so short a period have accomplished so much for the upbuilding and advancement of Christian civilization. The monuments of his good works are all around us here today, and testify abundantly of his high character, ability and enterprise. The early foundations of this church were laid by him before its worshipers were sheltered by structures made by the hands of men.

“What to them were gilded dome or towering spire?

’Neath their sturdy oaks and pines arose their anthems, winged with fire.”

But from their teachings and influence has come the elegant meeting house, the schoolhouse and the college, and now instead of the rude music of the congregation we hear the sound of the organ and the refined and cultivated music of the choir.

These early missionaries were brave, unselfish men, who devoted their lives to lighten the burdens and promote the welfare of their fellow-men. They went where duty called—ministered to the sick and the needy, helped by word and deed to found and develop the industries of the country, that their mission might become self-supporting and a moral and thrifty community grow up around them, and it is most fitting that we who enjoy so

abundantly the great blessings that have come to us, as the result of their labors, should pay reverence and honor to the memory of Jason Lee, who was their leader in these great enterprises.

He died at his work for Oregon in another distant state and was buried there, far away from the field of his labors, and now, when the members of this church, which he founded, who with grateful hearts revere his sacred memory, have returned his remains to this scene of his active life, we with reverent hands commit his ashes to final sepulture beneath the green sod of Oregon in the beautiful cemetery which bears his name, to rest beside his family and coworkers in the mission where the spreading oak casts its grateful shade, and the snow-capped mountains look down in wild and solemn grandeur.

ADDRESS

By JUDGE T. G. HAILEY.

In the absence of His Excellency, Governor Chamberlain, who has been called to Eastern Oregon on official business, the pleasure and honor is mine to represent him and our great mother State of Oregon on this memorable occasion.

Other lips more eloquent than mine, and other minds better stored with the historic events of the great Northwest, have this day retold to you the splendid story of the life of Jason Lee, the great missionary, founder of schools, of churches, and of States. When we lay to rest in the land where labored the moldering tenement that once possessed his mighty soul, we mark an epoch in the history of the Emerald State of Oregon and her daughters, the splendid and progressive States of Washington and Idaho. Such an event should lift us up to higher

planes and inspire to nobler thoughts and better deeds.

The young women and young men here present to-night from Chemawa represent the latest and best results of the early work of Jason Lee among their forefathers, who once held dominion over this Northwest land. Your forefathers, clad in scanty garb of skins of wild beasts, listened to his lessons of love and labor preached under the boughs of the primeval forest; while you, my Indian friends, now clothed in all comforts, harken to the same lessons of love and labor from his successors, taught to you under the sheltering domes of modern churches and schools. I doubt not that from his everlasting home beyond the skies that great missionary looks down with satisfaction and blessings upon you and all those who have carried forward the noble work for you and your people which he began so many years ago. I here and now invoke in behalf of this remaining fragment of the original owners of the Oregon Country the sympathy and aid of all who have the love of humanity in their hearts. When our ancestors and predecessors in this fair land were few and theirs were many, the red man was for many years the white man's friend, and now that they are few and we are many, let us remember only the deeds of kindness of their race and aid them to fulfill the purpose for which they are created.

At this time when we do honor to a great pioneer in particular, and by so doing do honor to all pioneers in general, a few lines from the pioneer poet, Joaquin Miller, addressed to the New Oregon, seems to be appropriate:

Young men, strong men, there is work to be done;
Faith to be cherished, battles to fight;
Victories won were never well won
Save fearlessly won for God and the right.
Have faith, such faith as your fathers knew,
All else must follow if you have but faith,
Be true to their faith, and you must be true.

Let me say in closing to all dwelling within the old Oregon Country that whene'er you tread within the limits where now rests the body of Jason Lee, remember that by his deeds he honored the Oregon Country, and by his sacred remains he now hallows it.

ADDRESS

By HON. ALLEN WEIR.

Someone has said that a man's life history should not be written until fifty years after his death—meaning, I suppose, that if he had any animosities or imperfections during his lifetime they should be permitted to die out and be forgotten. Besides, the progressive and far-seeing statesman, the man who is ahead of his day and generation, is not always appreciated until after events have justified his course. Be that as it may, while there was no lack of appreciation during his lifetime of the man whose memory we honor to-day, and no reason for postponing this event, still it is certain that as time rolls on he looms as a larger and yet more important figure on the horizon of the history of the Pacific Northwest.

As we stand reverently near the dust that was once Jason Lee, I wish to say that, speaking in behalf of the State of Washington, her Governor, and the Washington State Pioneer Association, I am honored in having been authorized to bear a message to you this evening.

We honor the memory of Jason Lee because of his noble, pure and consecrated life, the best years of which were given to the perilous duties of a missionary to our land before it could boast of many white settlers; because he it was who preached the first sermon from the Word of God ever uttered within the bounds of what is now the State of Washington—when his was literally the voice of "one

crying in the wilderness," and especially because to his wise and far-seeing statesmanship, patriotism and energetic, happily directed efforts, more than to those of any other individual, is due the fact that the soil of what is now the big, lusty young State to the north of us, once a part of Old Oregon, became American soil and not British. The State of Washington desires to acknowledge her debt of gratitude to him, and to add her tribute to his memory to-day.

Life, death, eternity! How vast, how deep, how solemn are these three words! Astronomy can not tell us where the bounds of this visible universe are. Theology can not determine the locality of that invisible universe from which no traveler returns. But we are told that somewhere, "in our Father's house," are many mansions. This we do know, that when a human being, endowed with the kingly qualities of a free moral agent, capable of using his powers for the uplifting and bettering of humanity, does so use those powers instead of wasting his life in selfish gratification or sloth, or in wrongdoing, his memory should be honored by those who follow after. Life is a glorious mystery, with a heaven beyond for attainment by just men made perfect. Jason Lee, from the battlements of heaven to-day, must look down with the never-ending satisfaction of duty well and faithfully performed on earth.

In one respect death levels all:

"The hand of the King that the scepter hath borne;
The brow of the priest that the miter hath worn;
The eye of the sage and the heart of the brave,
Are hidden and lost in the depth of the grave."

But not so with the splendid character that lives in the minds of fellow-mortals after useless clay has served its purpose and been laid away in the grave. Rather should it be said of these in the language of Lord Lytton:

“There is no death ! The stars go down
To rise upon some fairer shore ;
And bright in heaven’s jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

For ever near, though unseen,
The dear immortal spirits tread;
For all the boundless universe
Is life — there is no dead.”

“The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust.”

As we contemplate the object and purpose of this gathering to-night, what memories crowd in upon us ! The scenes, incidents and individuals of the past crowd in and haunt the vision and fill the minds of those in this presence who took part in the doings of early pioneer days in “Old Willamette,” or those who had contemporaneous existence with those days in the “Oregon Country.” I wish I might recall that past yet more vividly to your attention. I would like to hold before your eyes the old Chemeketa founded by the man whose dust lies in yonder Lee Mission Cemetery; the dwelling erected by him here when first he built a habitation in the “Land of the Sun-down Seas.”

“The shadows lie across the dim old room,
The firelight glows and fades into the gloom,
While mem’ry sails to childhood’s distant shore,
And dreams, and dreams of days that are no more.”

When Jason Lee came from the Eastern States to the “Oregon Country,” in 1834, he came as a vigorous young preacher of the word of God, fired with enthusiasm in his mission and message to the native tribes of the Northwest, his ambition to Christianize and civilize them, and imbued with a lively conception of the magnitude and importance of this country and of his undertaking. Large and wholesome, mentally and physically, of distinguished lineage, and having been well educated and trained to

lofty ideals, he was splendidly equipped for the work that made him famous and left the stamp and impress of his personality upon all the Pacific Northwest for the molding of character of the white population coming to these shores, fostering patriotic citizenship, and building up a heritage priceless to humanity. The little band under his leadership were the first to raise the Stars and Stripes in these ends of the earth, the first to put forth a successful effort to establish a local self-government here, and the first to bring to the attention of the Government of the United States the importance and desirability of extending National protection to the people and exercising National authority over this vast domain.

Born in Stanstead, Canada, in 1803, he was nevertheless a thorough American. His ancestor, John Lee, was one of the first fifty-four members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to settle at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1634. The names of his ancestors appear in every war of the colonies and of the United States prior to his time and in the Pequot War, in the old French and Indian War, at Concord and Lexington, at the siege of Boston, at the battle of Long Island, at the storming of Stony Point, with Washington crossing the Delaware, at Princeton and Trenton, Germantown, and Monmouth. Colonel Noah Lee raised and equipped at his own expense a regiment in Vermont and led them to the aid of Ethan Allen in the attack upon Ticonderoga. Captain Nathan Hale, Washington's scout, executed at New York as a spy by order of General Howe, was a descendant from Tabitha, youngest daughter of John Lee, as was also the celebrated divine, Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Among college presidents in this same lineage we find the names of William Allen Lee, of Bowdoin and Dartmouth, and John Parker Lee, of Los Angeles, California. Among statesmen is Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania; among jurists, Wil-

liam Strong, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; among soldiers of the Civil War, Kirby Smith, the last Confederate general to surrender. His father was a Minute Man, and hastened to the defense of Concord and Lexington, and was with General Washington at the siege of Boston, and in all the campaigns in New Jersey. At the close of the Revolutionary War the elder Lee settled in the then almost impenetrable wilds of Vermont, in a location that was afterwards divided by the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The town, which lies on both sides of the line, is called Rock Island on the Canadian side of the line, and Derby Line on the American side. By the location of the boundary the Lees were left a stone's throw from the line on the Canadian side.

Converted in 1826, Jason Lee entered Wilbraham Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, the following year, and spent the remainder of his life in the United States. Upon his arrival in Oregon, accompanied by his nephew, Daniel Lee, and Cyrus Shepard and P. L. Edwards, he began work by opening a school for Indian children in a log house they erected a few miles below the place where we stand to-night.

Mr. Lee had an adequate conception of the country, its importance, and his great work, even before he left the Atlantic States, because he had visited Washington, D. C., prior to his coming, where he interviewed President Andrew Jackson, to whom he unfolded his plans and from whom he secured executive indorsement and a promise of assistance. On his way West he held religious services at Fort Hall in what is now Southern Idaho, July 27, 1834, preaching from the text:

“Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.” I Cor. x:31.

On the following day he conducted the first funeral services west of the Rocky Mountains by a Protestant Christian minister. On September 28, 1834, he preached at Vancouver, now in Washington, then a Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and on October 9 following he preached at Gervais.

Among the missionaries coming within the next few years, Lee was easily the foremost in leadership. He was aggressive and resourceful, planning with wisdom and executing with the firm, manly tread of a conqueror. His consecrated, Christian manhood, strong in body and mind, hopeful and helpful, enabled him to accomplish things. He survived all dangers incident to crossing the plains, the main part of the continent then being uninhabited save by wild beasts and hostile, treacherous Indians. He blazed a pathway for oncoming civilization. Weary and footsore, trudging along with milch cows over desert plain, through swamp and forest, never hesitating in his purpose, immediately upon his arrival he began his work with the zeal of one who felt that he must be "about the Master's business."

In 1838, when Mr. Lee returned to "the States" after reinforcements for his missions, and to bring the importance of this country to the attention of the Government, he carried with him a memorial to Congress, which he had prepared, and which was supported by the settlers, that was significant and important, prophetic of our future greatness, and which described the needs and possibilities of the country, its conditions, and the earnest desires of the petitioners. One paragraph alone from his pen will suffice to indicate the strength of his grasp of the situation. He said :

"We need hardly allude to the commercial advantages of the territory. Its happy position for trade with China, India and the Western Coast of America. The growing

importance, however, of the islands of the Pacific is not so generally known or appreciated. As these islands progress in civilization their demands for the products of more northern climates will increase; nor can any country supply them with beef, flour, etc., on terms so advantageous as this."

This memorial reads like the arguments of expansionists in Congress within the past decade. It was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Linn of Missouri on January 28, 1839, in connection with a bill to create a territory north of latitude 42, and west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called "Oregon Territory."

Mr. Lee also enlisted the active support of Caleb Cushing in his plan to add more stars to our National emblem from the far Pacific Northwest. On January 17, 1839, he wrote to Mr. Cushing from Middletown, Connecticut, referring to the memorial and to the "Oregon Question":

"You are aware, sir, that there is no law in the country to protect or control American citizens, and to whom shall we look, to whom can we look, for the establishment of wholesome laws to regulate our infant and rising settlements but to the Congress of our own beloved country.

"The country will be settled, and that speedily, from some quarter, and it depends very much upon the speedy action of Congress what that population shall be and what shall be the fate of the Indian tribes in that territory. It may be thought that Oregon is of little importance, but rely upon it there is the germ of a great state.

"We are resolved to do what we can to benefit the country, but we are constrained to throw ourselves upon you for protection."

During the year 1839 Mr. Lee traveled extensively throughout the East, delivering lectures at many points, awakening great interest and enthusiasm in and over the

subject of far-away Oregon, its condition and its wonderful natural resources, mild and equable climate, and its advantageous geographical location with reference to the growth of civilization and the aggrandizement of the United States among the growth and development of the Nations of the world. He attended the Methodist Episcopal Conference at Alton, Illinois, and commanded the rapt attention of all there in his theme and his personality. From there he went to Peoria, and lectured, and at that point was organized the first company of Americans who were not missionaries to seek permanent homes in Oregon.

While in the East, Mr. Lee met and married Lucy Thompson, of Barre, Vermont, a lady of rare culture and attractiveness, who accompanied him back to his far Western home. Here in old Chemeketa was their family fireside, here was set up their family altar; here, on February 26, 1842, their daughter, Lucy Anna Maria Lee, was born; here that daughter grew to womanhood and developed into one of the most lovely and lovable of Christian characters ever known on the coast.

Wherever he was, Jason Lee was abundant in labors. In his chosen field here, from the California line to Puget Sound, his activities were incessant. A great many trips were made by him up and down the Columbia River, with no conveyance except an Indian canoe, and no shelter when overtaken by nightfall but the friendly earth and the forest and sky overhead and round about. On the 9th day of October, 1839, a company of missionaries and their families, some fifty-two persons in all, sailed from New York in the ship *Lausanne* for the "Oregon Country," to reinforce the work of Mr. Lee. These were recruits, enlisted through his efforts. They arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River June 1, 1840, and twelve days later met at Vancouver for consultation. Mr. Lee, as super-

intendent of the mission work, assigned them to their different stations. On June 15 he appointed Dr. John P. Richmond, of the party, to establish a mission at Nisqually, near Puget Sound, now in Pierce County, Washington. Doctor Richmond was the first American man with a family to become a resident north of the Columbia River. Mr. Lee had visited and selected the place for this mission in 1838. The first American child born in the Puget Sound Country was a son of Doctor and Mrs. Richmond. The entry in the family bible reads :

“Francis Richmond, son of John P. Richmond and wife, America, was born at Puget Sound, near Nisqually, Oregon Territory, on the 28th day of February, Anno Domini 1842, and was baptized by Rev. Jason Lee, Supt. of Oregon Missions.”

It seems inexpressibly sad even yet that the beloved wife of Mr. Lee should have so prematurely ended her earthly career in 1842, and that his own life ended almost exactly three years later, just apparently in the beginning of his great usefulness.

Jason Lee would have graced any position of honor and responsibility to which the American people might have called him, and would have risen equal to any emergency. The splendid institution of learning here in Salem, with its long, honorable, and highly useful career, is a fitting monument to the man. No mausoleum erected here to mark his resting place could be too elegant or costly to properly express the love and appreciation of the people for him and his memory. But his grandest monument is the splendid character he builded, of which we get an occasional glimpse for our edification and inspiration. He was modest, unassuming, one of the quiet, forceful souls, devoted in every fiber to a great work. The everlasting snows on Mount Hood are not purer nor fairer than the unsullied personal character he left behind.

While his work has been carried on by other devoted and able men, and its sphere of usefulness will go on broadening like the waves rippling from a stone cast into placid waters, yet the impetus given to it all by the man himself who laid broad and deep foundations, will continue as an abiding example for all who follow.

Jason Lee undoubtedly felt the responsibility of being an instrument in God's hands in working out the higher destiny of the race. The oncoming civilization of which he was a forerunner swept across the continent, subduing the savage races and changing conditions and overcoming all obstacles, and now at the dawn of the new century it has passed all former boundaries and is crossing the ocean to repeople the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and other "Islands of the Sea," and the new order of things has become a part of the world's history. He would doubtless feel that the unfurling of the Stars and Stripes and the playing of "The Star Spangled Banner" and "America" on these new shores, accompanied by the roar and rattle of our artillery, were but incidents in the onward march of our Christian civilization; and that when we say:

"Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?"

We should do so in a spirit of humility born of the responsibility placed upon us by the all-wise arbiter of destiny who holds the fate of Nations as in the hollow of his hand, and who desires to use us as instruments in working out the uplift of the human race. He was one of our nobility. His life would say to succeeding generations:

"Look up, my young American! Stand firm on earth;
Where noble deeds and mental power give places over birth."

ADDRESS

By HON. B. L. STEEVES,

Lieutenant Governor of Idaho.

I thank you for this cordial greeting. It warms my heart. Coming from entire strangers, it would be an inspiration and would kindle a less halting and more ready tongue than mine to perhaps eloquent speech, for it would denote a perfect sympathy of the audience for the speaker, but coming from those whom, in a certain sense, I still regard as my home people, many of you friends of olden time, it brings with it a keen and added pleasure, for I take it as in some sense an expression of personal interest and perhaps regard.

I deem it a rare honor and privilege to stand before this magnificent representation of the citizenship of the Capital City of Oregon, a city which for so many years I knew as home. For strong and tender ties of sentiment unite me to this beautiful place. It was here I acquired my education. The Old Willamette was the alma mater, the tender mother, who gave me my birth into the literary and professional worlds. For three years I sat at the feet of her instructors. It was here my young manhood was spent. It was here I was married. It was here I held in my arms a tiny atom of humanity and felt the first thrill of paternal affection for a first-born child. But there is another tie more tender even than these, one indissoluble and hallowed. This is the place my mother loved best of any place on earth, It was here she loved to live. It was here she wished to die, and on the green hillside south of town both she and an honored father sleep the sleep that knows no waking. So it is with good reason I look upon the people of Salem as my own, my home people, and it is with a feeling of sadness as well as pride that I arise to address you on this occasion.

I well remember the last time I essayed a public address before the people of Salem. It was on the occasion of my graduation. The subject of my oration was the Latin adage, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*" The times change and we are changed in them. I stood on the threshold of life, wondering what place I could fill in the world's work, vaguely anxious and afraid to take a step for fear it would be wrong. I peered into the future, wondering what changes the passing years would bring, and now returning after years of absence to represent a great state upon a great occasion, the words of my old commencement oration recur to my mind, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*"

For this is a great occasion. We have come here to pay honor to the memory of one who made the great Northwest as we know it possible; to one to whom that highest tribute of praise can well be given, "He has done what he could"; to one who builded better than he knew. Well was his name Jason, for, like argonauts of old, he and his little band braved the terrors of unknown seas and the perils of unknown lands, not, indeed, in search of golden fleece or of any material aggrandizement, but to establish civilization and enlightenment upon the then most remote parts of this Western continent; to lay the foundations of an empire upon the Pacific slope, and to establish therein an institution of learning whose beneficent and widening influence should extend to the uttermost parts of the earth, and whose children should rise up and call her blessed. Such, then, have been the results of the work of Jason Lee, greater by far than any man then living would have dared to anticipate. Of the three states secured to the Union by the early advent of the missionary colonists headed by Jason Lee, I am asked to represent the youngest of the trinity, Idaho. I accept the task with alacrity. It is a pleasant duty to perform,

for to me it is a labor of love. I take it that as the earlier exercises of the day have been devoted exclusively to a fitting eulogy of the character of Jason Lee, and a fitting tribute to his labor and his life, it is equally appropriate that these last exercises should be devoted at least in part to a description of the wonderful country which his efforts were so largely instrumental in saving to the Union, and which now form so important a part of the United States. A land of fertile valleys, of magnificent streams, of broad ranges, of mountains whose everlasting snows have challenged the rising sun since the morning stars first sang together, of lakes whose placid bosoms reflect back the fragrant forests and the summer skies, of forest and field and waterfall, of blue skies and bountiful sunshine—such is Idaho, Gem of the Mountains, Land of Opportunity.

Nature has been lavish in this land of promise. She has given us soil for the plow and water enough for the harvest. Timber enough for our homes and power for our factories. Iron for industry and copper for the arts. Gold for a Nation's commerce and lead for a Nation's defense. Wilderness enough for recreation and winter enough for vigor. Scenery enough for sentiment and sunshine enough for some.

Of the early settlement of Idaho I will say but little. She is a young State, and age has not yet clothed her early history with romance. She was first settled in the early sixties by miners and stockmen. Idaho has been in the past and is now handicapped by the fact that the main line of travel through the State crosses what until lately has been known as the Snake River desert. For fifty years the tide of Western immigration flowed past our doors unmindful of the empire awaiting development in the inter-mountain region. Even yet people passing through the State on the train have no conception, from

what they see, of what the State has to offer in soil and mineral wealth and scenery and climate, and for the benefit of such I will make a few statements. Though classed as an arid State, Idaho is by far the best watered of the arid States and one of the best watered in the Union. It is the only State, with the possible exception of Washington, which has a river of the magnitude of the Snake flowing 1,000 miles within its own territories. This river has numerous large and important tributaries all available for irrigation. Idaho has the greatest natural water power of any State in the Union, and this time we will not except Washington nor even New York, which has the American Falls of Niagara. Hundreds of thousands of horse power are being developed on the cataracts of the Snake, and thousands more can be developed on the Salmon. One hundred thousand horse power at one cataract, the Augur Falls, and above and below a dozen other falls of greater or less dimensions. Like the rays of a spider's web, electric wires will radiate from the Snake River Valley, carrying the imprisoned energy of the Snake River over hill and dale, propelling trolley cars, lighting distant cities and homes, and turning the wheels of industry in our own and neighboring States.

And now I will make a statement that to the people of Salem may sound like heresy. The Snake River Valley is larger and will support a greater population than the Valley of the Willamette. It is nearly 500 miles long and from two to 40 miles in width. It is being rapidly reduced by irrigation to a high state of cultivation. Over 1,000,000 acres are now in process of reclamation. Think what this means in a country where 40 acres is as much land as one family can properly take care of. If you would have an object lesson of the boundless possibilities of American enterprise, visit Twin Falls, where a town

of 3,000 people, with modern improvements and buildings, and two banks carrying a combined deposit of \$450,000, has been built in one year. The tract itself is a vast plain, dotted with homes as far as the eye can reach, with great irrigation canals like rivers meandering through the land, carrying a volume of water 70 feet wide and 7 feet deep, and capable of being navigated by river steamboats if it were considered advisable. Visit the Minadoka dam, which is just being completed by the Government, and which is designed to irrigate 100,000 acres, if you would learn that there is no mechanical obstacle, however great, that American ingenuity will not overcome. It is one of the wonders of the world. Southern Idaho will in 20 years be the most highly developed agricultural country on earth. Thirty thousand horsepower will be developed at the Minadoka dam alone, belonging to the farmers themselves, and every farmhouse will be lighted by electricity, and every churn and washing machine will be attached to an electric motor.

Idaho is proud of her resources, and she is proud of her citizens. She has a sturdy, independent citizenship, mostly young and mostly American-born. Idaho is proud of her institutions. We are proud that Idaho represents the highest development in civil government. That the great tree of liberty, under whose spreading branches all Nations of the earth will in due time find shelter, which first as a tender sapling struck root at Runnymede, when the rebellious barons forced King John to affix his signature to Magna Charta, and which has grown and developed and flourished through the centuries watered by the blood and tears of earth's bravest and best, has at last reached its highest flower and most perfect fruition in the Rocky Mountain States, the backbone of the American Continent, and that Idaho freely extends the ballot

to every American citizen, without relation to color or to sex, and does not class our wives, our sisters, and our mothers, politically, with criminals, imbeciles, and Indians not taxed.

Idaho extends her arms to the world. She invites the world to come and participate in her development. She invites the capitalist, and points to the opportunities for manufacture to her great natural water power, to her mines and forests undeveloped and uncut. She invites the farmer and points to the great tracts of arid land soon to be reclaimed by private enterprise or by the reclamation service of a beneficent government. She invites the tourist and points to her great natural beauties of river and mountain and forest and lake. She invites the invalid, for whom in a more rigorous climate, a lower altitude or a more humid atmosphere there is no hope of health, and, last, but not least, she invites the laborer, for labor is the basis of all prosperity. And the people are answering the call. They are coming to Idaho. In the past ten years they have doubled our population and quadrupled the amount of land under irrigation. They are transforming the State. They are converting our arid plains into fertile fields, and are making her to be in fact what her name literally implies — Idaho, Gem of the Mountains.

THE LINEAGE AND NATIONAL ALLEGIANCE OF JASON LEE.

From "Lee Family Genealogy," 1634-1897 and "Supplement" to the same, 1900; and "Forests and Clearings," a history of Stanstead County, Canada, as well as other original sources, the following was collated by F. H. Grubbs respecting the lineage and national allegiance of Jason Lee.

Jason Lee's American ancestor, John Lee, joined the Puritan movement led by Rev. Thomas Hooker of Braintree, Essex County, England, 1634, and was one of the first fifty-four inhabitants of Newtowne (Cambridge), Massachusetts Bay Colony. His residence was at the southwest corner of Holyoke and Winthrop Streets, near the present site of Harvard University. The next year, 1635, he joined the expedition under Hooker and journeyed through the wilderness to the Connecticut Valley, being present at the founding of the City of Hartford, Connecticut. Subsequently he was one of eighty-five to purchase a tract of one hundred and twenty-five square miles in the Connecticut Valley from the Indians. The original map is still extant and exhibits the several holdings of John Lee.

The family was prominent in all the military, civil, and religious affairs of the Colonies. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Daniel Lee, Jason Lee's father, lived at Willington, Connecticut. He was one of a company of Minute Men who, at the first alarm at Lexington, marched to Boston, was present at the siege of that city, and afterwards participated in all the battles in New York and the Jerseys. By the act of Congress, 1818, he was made a pensioner of the United States.

About the year 1797 there was a large emigration to the northern parts of Vermont and New Hampshire. Among the earliest of these settlers was Daniel Lee, who located

on four hundred acres in the almost unbroken wilderness, and here, after six years, Jason Lee, the youngest of a family of fifteen children, was born. Upon this homestead is now Rock Island, which, together with Derby Line, forms a continuous village, through which runs the boundary line between the Dominion of Canada and the United States—Rock Island in Canada and Derby Line in the United States.

Quoting from "Forests and Clearings": "The State of Vermont previous to that time had been surveyed, but the line of demarkation had been so imperfectly defined that the early settlers hardly knew at first whether they were in Vermont or in Canada. In process of time, however, as the settlements on the frontier began to increase, the parallel of 45 degrees was supposed to have been ascertained, but it was not finally determined until many years afterward."

Rev. Wm. H. Lee, a grand nephew of Jason Lee, who visited the town of Rock Island to ascertain some facts regarding the family, says: "His (Daniel Lee's) house stood within a stone's throw of the boundary line, just on Canadian soil. The monuments that mark the boundary line between Vermont and Canada bear the date 1842, showing clearly that at the time Daniel Lee settled there the boundary was not definitely established. It is entirely unlikely that a soldier of the Revolution would, fourteen years after the close of that struggle, of his own volition, place himself under British dominion, and it is entirely probable that when Daniel Lee settled at Rock Island, he supposed his new home was on American soil."

Quoting from a communication to F. H. Grubbs from Principal Wm. I. Marshall of Chicago, 1905, illustrating the indefinite knowlede of the boundary line: "Soon after the War of 1812 closed our Government bought a tract of land at Rouses Point, which commanded the entry to

Lake Champlain, and proceeded to expend about \$200,000 in erecting a strong fortification there. Then a joint commission of British and American officers made a careful survey and ascertained that the parallel of 45 degrees north latitude, instead of being where it was supposed to be, was about two miles south of Rouses Point, and of course our Government ceased to continue work on a fortification on British soil."

The fact that he became a pensioner of the United States Government by the act of 1818, indicates that Daniel Lee was, at that date, recognized as a citizen of the United States.

Under these circumstances Jason Lee was born, 1803, six years after his father had made his home in the unbroken wilderness which nothing but an Indian trail had hitherto penetrated. In 1828 he became a student at Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Massachusetts, fourteen years before the planting of the monuments that mark the ascertained boundary.

The above corrects the conclusions of H. H. Bancroft that Jason Lee was positively of Canadian antecedents.

ROUTE ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS WITH A DESCRIPTION OF OREGON AND CALIFORNIA, ETC., 1843.

[REPRINT OF A WORK BY OVERTON JOHNSON AND WM. H. WINTER,
PUBLISHED IN 1846.]

*Bay of San Francisco—Sacramento and St. Wakine [San Joaquin] Valleys—Many
Narrow Fertile Valleys—Great Lake, etc.—Barren Mountains Containing
Silver Ore and Good Water Power—Tar Springs—Gold Found in the Pueblo
Valley—Cultivation of the Vine—Spanish Dance—Wild Horses—Unsuccessful
Attempt to Take Them.*

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF UPPER CALIFORNIA.

That portion of Mexican Territory, which is generally alluded to under the name of California, is included between the Pacific Coast and the California Mountains; a lofty and rugged range, which is a continuation of the Cascade Mountains, in Oregon, running nearly parallel with the coast, and East of it about one hundred and twenty-five miles; and between the parallel of 42 deg. North, and the Gulf of California. But the Southern part of this district, including the Peninsula, called Lower California, is a poor, dry, barren region, and has not yet afforded inducements sufficient to attract the attention of foreigners. That portion which is most desirable, and to which persons from the United States, traveling through, and settling in the country, have entirely confined their attention, is called Upper California; and is that part lying between the head of the Gulf, and the Northern boundary of the Province: and to this portion, we shall be confined in our remarks.

The Bay of San Francisco, situated in latitude 37° 45' North, is, perhaps, without exception, the finest and most spacious Harbor on the globe. It has been spoken of, and

we believe without exaggeration, as being of sufficient capacity to contain all the Shipping of the world. The entrance of the Bay is only about one mile wide. It increases rapidly in width after entering the land ; and separating, forms two arms ; one bearing to the South East, the other to the North East. The Southern arm, is fifty miles in length, and ten in width, and is a beautiful sheet of water ; deep, and entirely free from sand-banks and Islands. The Northern arm is sixty miles in length and about ten in width ; is very crooked, containing many small islands ; and has numerous creeks and coves every where indenting its shores. The St. Wakine [San Joaquin] and Sacramento Rivers, empty at the head of this arm of the Bay ; the former from the South East, and the latter from the North. They are both streams susceptible of navigation, and their valleys uniting, form the most extensive body of level water found anywhere on the Western coast ; being from the head of one valley to that of the other, about four hundred miles in length ; and in width, from the California Mountains West, about fifty miles. There are numerous small streams running through these valleys, from the mountains, and from the highlands on the West, into the rivers ; on all of which there are rich and productive strips of land from three to four miles in width, and extending back to the mountains. There are generally, along these streams, narrow belts of Oak timber, of which there are three kinds : White, Black, and an inferior kind of Live Oak. The trunks are short, and none are well calculated for fencing. Between the streams, the land is less fertile, very dry, and not at all adapted to cultivation ; it, nevertheless, produces an abundance of the richest kind of grass, capable of affording support, during the whole year, to large herds of cattle and horses.

On the California Mountains, and on many of the inclinations, between them and the valleys, there is a timber

called Red Wood ; a large and very fine tree, of the Pine species, peculiar to California ; Cedar and Sugar Pine, in inexhaustible abundance. But that part is generally considered the best portion of the Province, which lays West of the Sacramento Valley, and North of the Bay of San Francisco. It consists of alternate hills and valleys. Many of the hills are high ; but they are gradual and unbroken.—The valleys are from three to four miles in width, and from fifty to sixty in length ; are all traversed by small streams of water, and have an excellent soil. Those which connect with the Bay—of which there five or six—run from North to South. Those which connect with the coast, and with the valley of the Sacramento, run to the West, and East. Immediately on the coast North of the Bay there is a range of very high, rolling hills, which increase in height to the North. They are covered with oats, which is a spontaneous production of this country ; with excellent grass, and with groves and forests of Red Wood and Oak.

One hundred miles North of the Bay, and at about an equal distance from the Sacramento Valley and the coast, is the Great Lake, which is, in length from North to South, sixty miles, and fifteen in width. It is said to be a beautiful, clear sheet of water, surrounded by a belt of fine alluvial prairie, which also is encircled by a wall of high Mountains, covered in many places with groves of Red Wood and Oak, and giving rise to numerous rivulets, which meander across the plain, and empty into the Lake.—This is, perhaps, the most beautiful, romantic, and picturesque portion of the Province ; but its very secluded situation, having, as far as has yet been learned, no good natural communication with the surrounding country, renders it less valuable. North of the Great Lake the country is, as far as the Clamuth Valley, little else than a vast cluster of mountains, which, connected

by the Sacramento Hills, join with the spurs of the California Mountains and form the Northern boundary to the habitable portion of the Province.

The Southern arm of the Bay of San Francisco is surrounded by a belt of level land, which, on the North side, is six or eight miles in width, and very fertile. Francisco or Yerba Buena is a small town situated on the point of land South of the entrance of the Bay, and has a population of about two hundred. The land upon which it is built rises gradually one mile from the Bay, and descends gradually the same distance to the Ocean; and its situation, for a commercial town, is generally considered to be the best and most advantageous in California.

The country South of the Bay, and between the St. Wakine and the coast, is also diversified with mountains and valleys. The mountains are high, and some of them are barren. The valleys are fertile, from three to four miles wide, and from forty to fifty long. Their course is from South East to North West; and the streams, by which they are watered, empty into the Bay. Further South, the streams rising in the California Mountains, South of the head of the St. Wakine, run West, and empty into the Ocean. They have rich valleys four and five miles in width, covered with grass and clover, and separated by high mountains; some of which are covered with forests of Red Wood and scattering Oaks, and others are barren. Among the barren mountains, in many places silver is found in abundance; but little or no attention has ever been paid to it, and none of the mines have yet been worked. The Ore is said to be of good quality and easily obtained. This part of the territory is well watered, and affords some good sites for machinery.

Monte Rey, the Capitol of the Province, is situated at the termination of one of these valleys, near the mouth of a small river, and on the bay of Monte Rey, an inlet affording a harbor for shipping, but too much exposed to the Sea to be a good and safe one. The town is small, containing only a population of about three hundred persons, and is built principally of adobes. Forty miles North East from Monte Rey there is a bituminous or Tar Spring oozing out from the foot of a mountain, and covering several acres of ground. This bitumen or mineral Tar is said to answer well all the purposes for which common Tar is used; it is inflammable, and becomes hard by exposure to the atmosphere.

South from Monte Rey, for several hundred miles, there are no valleys of considerable size, or country fit for cultivation, being a succession of high mountains, as far as Santa Barbara. Timber is scarce in this mountainous district, but it is, nevertheless, considered valuable for grazing, being covered with an abundance of oats, and various kinds of nutritious grass. At Santa Barbara there is a fine valley about five miles in width and sixty in length. Immediately south of this valley, and separated from it by a mountain, is the lower Pueblo Valley, of about the same size. These valleys have a black alluvial soil, and are both traversed by small rivers rising in the mountains to the East, flowing to the West, and emptying into the Ocean. They have numerous small tributaries, which arise in the bordering mountains, and empty from either side.

The great objection to this portion of the country is that it is almost entirely destitute of timber. Gold is found in considerable quantities in the upper part of the Pueblo Valley; yet the inconvenience of water renders the working of the mines less profitable. A company was formed, however, about the time of our leaving the

country to engage in this business. The Pueblo and Santa Barbara are both towns of considerable size, containing each, probably, a population of about two thousand. They are situated about twenty miles from the sea shore, and the inhabitants are engaged in stock raising, and the cultivation of the vine. There is anchorage for shipping at the Western termination of these valleys.

The Southern portion of the Province of California, called Lower California, is more populous than the portion which we have been considering; but its population consists almost entirely of Mexican Spaniards and Indians; there being but few "Foreigners" in that part of California. (The term Foreigners is used here to designate all others, except the Mexican Spaniards, and Indians; though they have been residents in the country for many years; have become citizens; or even though they have been born in the country; still they are foreigners, if they be the descendants of Americans, English, French, Dutch, or of any other people, except those whom we have excepted.) We have never traveled through Lower California, and are, therefore, incapable of making statements concerning it. But we have been informed, by those who were acquainted with it, that a great portion of it is mountainous, dry and sterile; and especially the Peninsula of California; and, although we have never tested, by actual observation, the correctness of this description, yet we have some corroborating evidence of its truth; since we have observed, in proceeding South from the Bay of San Francisco, that the country becomes, as we advance, gradually less fertile, and less favorable to vegetation; the cultivated land requiring frequent irrigation to counteract the effect of the Summer droughts; we have also observed that the country becomes more mountainous; the valleys less productive; and that timber is often almost entirely wanting. From this we

would conclude, and we think not without a good degree of reason, that in advancing still farther to the South, we would, probably, find the country agreeing with the description which our informants have given. The fact that there are so few foreigners in that portion of the country leads to the opinion that there is little inducement for them to settle there. Were it otherwise we might be sure of finding Americans, at least; for there is no country of considerable extent upon the earth's surface, which offers either pleasure or profit, where some of our adventurous countrymen are not to be found, unless their entrance is prohibited by the laws, or prevented by opposing arms.

Between the Northern and the Southern arms of the Bay of San Francisco there is a range of high lands commencing, which, after running a short distance in a South East course, trends away to the South, until their general course is about parallel with the coast. They separate the waters of the Southern arm of the Bay of San Francisco and those of the Bay of Monte Rey, (the Rio San Buenaventura [*sic*]) from the St. Wakine or Rio San Joaquin, which, as we have said, empties into the Northern arm. Trending again to the East they probably intersect with the California Mountains, South of the head of the San Joaquin, bounding its valley on the West and South, and giving rise on one side to the tributaries which come into it from those directions, and on the other, to the Eastern tributaries of the Rio San Buenaventura, and to some other smaller streams which rise South of this and empty into the Ocean.

The soil of the Valley of the St. Wakine, along the river and its tributaries, is very rich, and consequently favorable to agricultural productions. These fertile strips make up a great portion of the valley; but beside these there are extensive tracts of barren land laying back be-

tween the river and the mountains and between its tributaries. These barren tracts are so dry and sandy as to be entirely unfit for cultivation; but they are, nevertheless, covered with that superior kind of grass peculiar to these Western countries; and which, although it is much less abundant on the barren than on the fertile land, is richer and more nutritious. On this account these unfruitful lands are not altogether valueless; affording, as they do, excellent pasturage for large herds of cattle. In one portion of this valley the land is so sandy that several of the mountain streams, which would otherwise empty into the river, are swallowed up. This portion is of considerable extent, and the river, for a long distance opposite to it, receives no tributaries from that side.

It will seem contradictory that lands unfit for cultivation, and so dry as we have represented these to be, should produce grass sufficient to render them valuable for the purpose of grazing; but it must be remembered that during the rainy season the frequent showers keep even these almost constantly moist; and that the temperature, at this season, causes them to afford nourishment for animals constantly. It is improbable that they will bear pasturage to the same extent, or support the same number of animals as the fertile lands. But when the country becomes well populated, and when all the lands adapted to cultivation shall have been brought into requisition for that purpose, then these barren lands, with proper care, will give support the most healthy and nutritious, to immense numbers of all kinds of herbivorous animals.

This, however, is not to be considered as the general character of the Valley of the St. Wakine; on the contrary, it is considered to be one of the best portions of California. In many places where the tributaries of the St. Wakine enter the Valley, there are the terminations

of narrow, but rich and beautiful valleys which wind away among unexplored, and rugged spurs and peaks, and penetrate deep into the bosom of the California Mountains.

In the upper extremity of the Valley of the St. Wakine there are four lakes or marshes, called *tulares*, from the *tule*, (bullrushes,) with which they are filled. It grows to an astonishing size, and so thick that it is almost impossible to pass through it. This tule, when it falls, covers the marshes in places to the depth of more than two feet. There is one of the *tulares* here, in particular, which is very large, has several streams emptying into it, and covers an extent of many miles. There are others similar to these, in different parts of the country; there is said to be a large one, through which the River, which empties into the southern arm of the Bay of San Francisco, flows; and there are some in the Valley of the Sacramento. There has yet been made no permanent settlement in the Valley of St. Wakine. The causes of this are, that until now, there were other portions of the country which were thought to offer greater inducements to the settler; and the Indians, who live in the bordering mountains, and who roam through the valley, are, by no means to be trusted. In consequence of there having been no settlements made here, the Valley of the St. Wakine abounds with all kinds of game common to the country. Elk, in large bands, are scattered over it in every direction. Deer are numerous. And there are Antelopes and Bears, also. The *tulares* and the streams are crowded with deafening swarms of waterfowls. All of these different kinds of game, at certain seasons, get to be very fat. There are other wild animals in the St. Wakine Valley. There are many wolves; and wild horses in bands of many hundreds may be seen at all times feeding on its extensive prairies.

At the source of one of the Upper and Eastern tributaries of the St. Wakine, is Walker's Pass, through which Captain Walker, the discoverer of the Pass, conducted, in the Autumn of 1843, a part of the California emigrants, with whom we traveled from the States to Fort Hall. More frequently it is called "the Point of the Mountain." It is described as being a beautiful, though narrow, valley, cutting the mountain from its summit almost to its base; affording the only good, natural pass through this rugged barrier into the valuable portions of California. Through this, with a little labor, it is believed, that a very passable wagon road may be made; but being near the parallel of 35 deg., it is entirely too far to the South to be of much advantage to emigrants from the United States who cross the Rocky Mountains at the Great Pass. This pass through the Rocky Mountains is in latitude 42 deg. 23 min., and the point on the Pacific Coast where emigrants would wish, generally, to terminate their journey, is between latitudes 37 and 38 deg., so that, after striking the California Mountains they would have to make nearly five degrees of Southing—out of their course—in order to pass around "the Point of the Mountains," and afterwards, to make nearly three of Northing to regain what they had lost. This would be making a circuit of between four and five hundred miles in order to accomplish that which, by a different route, might be accomplished in about two hundred. This shorter route is, however, a very steep, rugged, and difficult one, but preferable, we believe, to the other on account of the great difference in distance. But should emigrants go into California by the way of Taos, or by some more Southern pass through the Rocky Mountains than that by which they go at the present, then will Captain Walker's Pass be found an excellent way into the Western portion of this country. It will,

also, be of the utmost importance to emigrants who may be overtaken by the rainy season, as it is seldom, if ever, obstructed by the snows, which immediately after the commencement of the rains, cover all the mountains, blocking up every other way to such a degree that it is extremely hazardous to attempt them.

This little Valley of verdure and flowers looks out from its Eastern extremity upon an arid desert over which, in the vast scope which the eye embraces, nothing presents save huge piles and masses of dark rock and thirsty sands. In this region, so wonderful and so unlike any other portion of the known world, even the foot prints of the bold trapper have seldom disturbed the inhospitable sands. There are a few tracks in the vast region which lies between the California and Rocky Mountains, traveled at times by the Trappers and by the Mexican Traders, but these are rare : between them are extensive spaces which have never been trodden by the foot of civilized man. Previously this had been marked on the otherwise very imperfect and incorrect maps which have been made of the countries West of the Rocky Mountains "the unexplored region." It was left a perfect blank, and it is strange that in this very acknowledgment of their ignorance the map-makers have described so accurately what succeeding explorations have proved to be a perfect blank. It is reasonable to suppose that the All-Wise has arranged every thing in nature with perfect fitness ; that there is nothing in the great globe which is not perfectly adapted to some proper purpose, which is not a necessary part in this vast, harmonious machine—the Universe of God. But, as far as the eye of man, though aided by all his philosophy, has yet been able to see ; the half of all is unaccountable. So is this seeming waste. It appears to have been thrown in merely to fill up space, or to be a barrier to the commerce and inter-

course of man. To us a greater portion of it is more than a blank ; we would rather have buried, not only a part, but the whole of it beneath the billows of a vast inland sea. In other respects the map-makers have been less correct ; ignorant that these arid sands could swallow up all the rivers and torrents and melted snows of the surrounding mountains, they omitted the loftiest range in North America, in order that the waters of Lake Timpanagos (the Great Salt Lake) might flow into the Bay of San Francisco. That was useless. They are thirsty still ; the Rio Colorado, were it not protected by a wall of mountains, would never reach the Gulf of California. There are many lakes besides this and many streams running down from the mountains which enclose this Valley of the Great Salt Lake, all of which are swallowed up in the sands. The Valley of the Salt Lake has no outlet. The lofty range which separates it from the Pacific has yielded only to the Columbia. The Cascade Mountains have been severed only by the Great River of the West ; and the California Mountains, (an extension of the same,) are unbroken. They stand like a mighty wall to separate the green valleys of Western California from this parched waste.

This Eastern portion of California, however, like Eastern Oregon, contains some green spots, to show more effectually the dreariness of all around them. Along the Eastern base of the California Mountains, there are, probably, enough of these productive spots, to induce men, in time, to inhabit them. They might be made somewhat profitable for grazing. There is a region, of considerable extent, in the neighborhood of the Great Salt Lake, which would afford excellent pasturage. There are also, on some of the streams which empty into it, narrow valleys, which have a good soil. Only a portion of this, however, was seen by ourselves ; our knowledge concerning it de-

pend, partially, upon the information of others, together with our knowledge of the general character of the country. A great portion of this habitable region lies North of the forty second parallel of North latitude, and is, consequently, in the Oregon Territory.

But there is a large portion of the desert region, of which there is little or nothing known. What is known concerning it has been learned by merely passing through it in a few places by routes separated from each other by great intervening distances; yet from the dreariness of every track that has yet been tried may be inferred, with a good degree of certainty, what those portions are which have yet either repelled the efforts of the traveler, the trader, and the trapper, or deterred them by their very appearance from attempting to break in upon the secrecy of their gloomy and forbidding solitudes.

With a very few exceptions, in this whole vast scope of territory lying immediately beyond the Rocky Mountains, extending west several hundred miles, and to an uncertain distance North and South, there can never locate any civilized society. Their inhabitants will be like those in the Deserts of Arabia and in the Sahara of Africa.

The climate of California, like that of Oregon, is much milder than in the same latitudes anywhere East of the Rocky Mountains. In fact, it is in every respect very similar to the climate of Oregon, excepting only that it is warmer in proportion to its difference of latitude and is dryer, there being not so much rain during the winter season and scarcely any during the summer. It is very mild, ice seldom ever being seen in the valleys, or snow except upon the mountains. The extremes of heat and cold are not great, nor is the climate subject to any great and sudden changes. The atmosphere is so pure that whole beehives will remain sweet and good in the open air

without salt at any season of the year for three or four days at a time. The nights are quite cool during the whole year, and sickness of any kind is scarcely known or thought of. Nearly all the products of temperate climes except Indian corn flourish here. Oats and clover grow spontaneously in almost every part of the Province. The vine flourishes as well, perhaps, in California, as in any other portion of the world, and its fruit is the finest and decidedly the most delicious that we have ever tasted. There are many large vineyards in different parts of the country from which several thousand barrels of wine are annually made. The prickly pear is cultivated for its fruit. The peach and pear do well, but the apple is not so fine as in the United States. In the Southern part of California irrigation is necessary to the production of wheat and garden vegetables, but in the North this is seldom the case, the late winter rains being sufficient to perfect the harvest. But a small portion of the Province is yet in cultivation, the Spaniards, who comprise the chief population, being engaged principally in rearing and herding cattle and horses, for which both the climate and country are peculiarly adapted. Many individuals own several thousand animals, which are kept in bands, and require only the attention of a herdsman. They are always very wild and can be managed only by force. They are driven into a coral (a strong enclosure), once every year for the purpose of branding, etc. The Spaniards enter these corals on horseback with the lasso, which is a rope made of rawhide, very strong, and formed into a running noose. Holding one end of this rope coiled in the left hand, they swing the extended noose with the right several times above the head, in order to open it, and to acquire momentum, and then throw it with almost unerring precision from thirty to forty feet, about the head of any animal they choose, making fast the end

which they retain around the horn of the saddle, which is made very strong and bound firmly upon the horse. The horse, as well as the rider, understands the manner of manœuvering, and is able to hold the strongest bullock, taking care to watch closely its movements, when it is disposed to make battle, and avoiding its furious passes, until it becomes exhausted or assistance is given to the person who has caught the animal.

These Spaniards are probably equal in horsemanship to any people in the world, the famous Arabs of the Eastern deserts, and the wild Comanches of the great Western prairies, not excepted. Many of their feats are entirely incredible to those who are not well acquainted with their character. We have heard it frequently said, (and it is nearly true,) that the Mexican Spaniard does every thing on horseback and with the lasso. The Californians like most other Mexican Spaniards, are a lazy, indolent and cowardly people, and have neither enterprise nor spirit of improvement in the their disposition, they are only a grade above the aborigines, and, like them, they will soon be compelled, from the very nature of things, to yield to the swelling tide of Anglo-Saxon adventure.

Almost every thing which the Californians possess is of the rudest and simplest construction. Among the better class, however, there are many exceptions to the general rule; but the great majority of the Californians, who are of Spanish descent, will be embraced under it. Their houses, which are constructed of mud and poles, are often without either floors or chimneys. Within they are filthy and destitute of almost all the furniture most commonly used by civilized people; even chairs, beds, and tables are wanting. The earthen floor, without any addition, affords them convenient seats, and with the addition of a bullock's hide, it is made to answer the purpose of both

table and bedsteads. Their cooking utensils and diet are rough and simple, as their furniture; even those who are not of the lowest grade live almost entirely on beef; and after the manner of their brother aborigines, a wooden stake, sharpened at both ends so as to form a spit, answers the purpose of pot and platter.

The principal business of all classes is attending to animals; there are some, however, who cultivate small patches of ground. In doing this they use plows of the most simple and primitive style. Their plows are nothing more than the fork of a tree, so cut and trimmed that one of the prongs answers as a beam, by which it is drawn, the other prong is the plow itself, and the main stem, with some trimming, makes the handle. The Spaniards do not, however, often engage in laborious exercise. They are generally content with merely living; and in a country possessed of so mild a climate as California has, it requires very little exertion to live. Where labor must be performed they usually employ the Indians, who are obtained for a mere nominal compensation. In fact a great many of the Indians in California are little else than slaves.

A wheeled carriage is seldom used by a Californian; a horse and rope answers his purpose. Often when he goes to any of the towns to purchase an article, he fastens his money—which is a bullock's hide—to one end of his lasso, and then mounting his horse, winds the other end around the horn of his saddle, and putting spurs, dashes off at a furious rate, over hill and plain, with or without a road, to the town.

Their saddles, which are made very strong, are loaded with various trappings, have large heavy wooden stirrups, and altogether, frequently weigh sixty or seventy pounds. The plan of the saddle tree is an excellent one, and the saddles are very safe and pleasant for the rider,

and when they are well constructed, with the exception of their weight, are easy on the animal.

It is difficult to find a people, or even an individual, who has not some good trait of character ; and even these Californians, with all their faults, are hospitable at their houses. If a stranger goes to one of their houses, he is made welcome to whatever it affords, and as comfortable as their limited means will allow ; he must, however, furnish his own bed. It is always expected that a traveler in California will carry that article with him. When he departs, nothing is demanded and nothing will be received by them as a compensation ; the almost universal and beautiful reply is, when payment is proffered, "No, God will pay."

There are now about five hundred foreigners residing in the country, and the principal portion are from the United States. Emigration from the United States is rapidly increasing, and it is probable that our citizens will possess themselves of this beautiful and healthy country, with its many vales of fertile land. They will soon outnumber the Spaniards, and gain the ascendancy over them. The consequence will be to throw off their present form of government, establish a Republic of their own, and render this portion of our globe what nature has seemed to design it should be, a prosperous and happy country.

Grants of land are still obtained from the government of from one to ten leagues. These grants cannot, however, be had at all times or by all persons ; only those who are in favor with the authorities are likely to get lands.

The duties on foreign imports are exceedingly high, and all foreign articles for which there is any demand bear a great price. Smuggling is common, and presents

are said to turn away the eyes of the Government officers and lessen their estimates upon the value of cargoes.

The Government is under the direction of a Governor, appointed by the authorities of the Mexican Government, and the officers of justice are the same as in her other Provinces; they are called Alcaldes, are elected by the people, and have powers very similar to our Justices of the Peace; but the influence of bribery and favoritism affects, in a great degree, the principles of justice and almost entirely defeats the administration of the laws; and its remoteness from the Capital renders the influence and control of the National Government very limited. They have a regularly organized militia and a small standing army, in the country; but the rebellion of last winter drove the army, with the Governor, out of the Province.

The Spaniards of California are very dissipated, and are exceedingly fond of dressing and amusement. This character applies in a greater or less degree to all, but those only of the higher and wealthier class can indulge these dissipations, to much extent. They are unfeeling and cruel, and many of their amusements partake of this character. They love to witness combats between the Wild Bull and Grizzly Bear; for this purpose, a strong arena is formed with heavy palisades, and the animals are taken wherever they can be found, with the lasso, and dragged into the arena. By them, a Bull is taken, and managed without difficulty; but the Bear, with all their skill and horsemanship, is still a powerful opponent; yet, four or five of these Californians, mounted on their strongest horses, will even take this powerful and ferocious animal alive, and convey him several miles, in order to gratify their fondness for barbarous scenes. If a single horseman, unassisted, throws his lasso about the neck of a Grizzly Bear, the Bear seating himself upon

his hinder parts, grasps the lasso in his fore paws and commences "hauling away," hand over hand, as adroitly as a Jack-Tar, dragging horse and rider together, towards him. In a case of this kind, the only alternative is, to "slip the cable and make sail." But when there are several to assist, they throw their lassos around the feet of the captured animal, and thus confined, they drag him away. Being placed together in the arena, the two furious animals soon engage with each other, but the Bear, after such rough handling, is so strained, and bruised, and worried, that he is frequently borne down, and gored to death, by his less powerful adversary. They are fond of cock-fighting, also; and horse-racing; and as the Sabbath is both a leisure and lucky day, and one in which they are commanded to do no labor, their sports, generally, come upon that day, and they are attended by all classes, by saint and sinner. But before every thing else, the Californian is passionately fond of his own National dance, the Mexican Fandango. In order to convey some idea of this great favorite Mexican amusement, we will give a brief description of one that went off on a Sunday night, in Sonoma, at the residence of a Spanish gentleman, Don Gaudeloupe Viyeahoes, to attend which, we were favored with an invitation. About candlelighting the guests began to assemble, among whom we were the earliest, in order to witness the whole proceedings. As they arrived, the gentlemen collected in small groups, through the yard, and entered into the discussion of various subjects; and some highly amusing, if we may be allowed to judge from appearances, such as teeth shining under black curling mustachoes—the low chuckle, with an occasional loud laugh—while others, with more serious demeanor, were calculating their chances for failure or success, in the pending revolution, for they were rebels, and were consequently interested in the issue. In

the meantime, the young ladies, with noisy glee, were frolicking, singing, and dancing within; and some of the married ones were preparing the nicknacks, and getting ready the wines, while others were engaged in arranging and ornamenting the room for the dance. Preparation being ended, we were invited in, and took our seats in a row, on one side of the room, while the ladies, in the same order, occupied the other. The sides of the hall, which was twenty by forty feet, were lined with persons of every age. The music, which consisted of two guitars and a violin, occupied one end, while the other was filled up by several tables, upon which were heaped indiscriminately, hats, cloaks, coats, and shawls, and the board bearing the sweet breads, wines, etc., which completed the circle, and occupied a large portion of the room. The hall was well lighted by lamps suspended from the walls and ceiling; in short, every thing was very well regulated, except only the disposition of the sexes. A young Don now stepped into the middle of the floor, gave a few shuffles, and the music commenced. He began to pat, or rather to stamp the tune, flat footed: which he continued, without variation, until he had gone through all the different parts of the hall and back again to his starting place; and so exactly had he calculated the measure of his step that he had occupied precisely the same space of time in accomplishing his circuit that was required by the musician in completing the tune. He then walked up to a young lady and began clapping his hands in her face in a manner that reminded us of a young Hoosier scaring black birds out of a corn field or encouraging a lazy cur to take hold of some rascally pig; but we soon learned that he was only inviting her to dance. So, after clapping his hands half a dozen times, he retired to his seat, and the lady came on to the floor and went through the same patting and stamping which the

gentleman had done. This mode of dancing had continued for some time, when one of the fair, who was occupying the floor, from fancy, curiosity, or politeness, danced up to an American and began clapping her hands in his face. Our countryman was evidently very much embarrassed; he blushed, reddened, and at last, after several hems and hawks, stammered out, "*No, savvy.*" Not at all discouraged at this failure, and resolved, as it seemed, on seeing an American dance, she turned and went waltzing up to our friend, who by the way, was not easily dashed, though not much of a dancer. "What could I do," said he afterward; "I could not dance in their style, I knew; and but very little in any other; if I took the floor, I might reasonably expect to fail, and so be laughed at, for an awkward American; if I refused, I should be ridiculed for my timidity and want of gallantry." "While thinking thus," said he, "the lady was all the while, with a most persuasive smile, bowing, clapping her hands, and urging her entreaties with all the English she was acquainted with. I turned my head, saw some of the company beginning to titter, and could bear it no longer." Here he made a desperate effort, gained the middle of the floor, and then went patting away to the further end of the room, imitating their mode of dancing as well as he could; then turning, he came down on a real, regular, backwoods hoe-down shuffle; wheeled into the middle of the floor, cut the pigeon wing, and brought up before a pretty brunette, who seemed about to go into a fit of hysterics from excessive laughter at the novel performance; clapped his hands four or five times in her face, and then went whirling away to his seat. "Go it countryman—huzzah countryman," cried we, joining in the general uproar. The Spaniards appeared to be much interested, and were quite pleased with this new way of dancing, and during

the evening we saw numbers of both sexes trying to imitate the step. At length, becoming tired of this single handed game, they changed it into a series of waltzes, cotillions, etc., which were performed with such noise and uproar that we verily believe they might have been heard half a mile. It appeared that skill was estimated, by them, in proportion to the amount of sound produced; which was created in two ways: first, by the heavy dancing, and secondly, by yelling at the top of the voice, parts of the tune, which were designed to chime in with the instruments; but which, however, so far from being the case, when half a dozen of those stentorian voices, at once broke forth, it produced such a variety of horrible discords, as could be compared to nothing, but the simultaneous roar of a caravan of African and Asiatic animals. At length came the refreshments, which consisted of cakes, dates, dried figs, and wines, and were handed around by the married ladies. About thirty minutes having been spent in thus reviving the physical strength, the dance again commenced and was continued with great spirit and exertion until a late hour of the night when the weary and drowsy guests retired, and there was an end to the boisterous fandango.

This was a collection of about the fairest samples which the country could afford; and how far inferior were they even to the unlearned and poorer classes in our own country! Selfishness, it is true, is sure to make us have a good opinion of ourselves, and with ourselves, to make us appear favorable in comparison with others. A knowledge of this should generally dictate to us the propriety of not hazarding an expression concerning our own goodness or greatness in such a comparison; but there are instances, and this is one of them, in which there is no possibility of being mistaken. These very people, though they are not aware of it, in all their intercourse with

foreigners, admit the inferiority of their judgment and knowledge in every respect, except only in those things which are immediately connected with their every day life. Why is there so great a difference? There must have been some great cause to have produced it; it is evident that such a difference did not exist between the brave and enterprising, though infatuated Spaniards, who conquered Mexico and our forefathers; even the people whom the Spaniards conquered, were far, very far superior to these. What great cause, we would enquire, has operated to sink them so far beneath their proud, daring, and high minded ancestors; and that, too, while all the rest of the civilized world has been moving forward with giant strides up the great highway of human improvement? What could it have been but "that accursed thirst for gold?"

But to plunge precipitately from one extreme to another, as has been usual with us in the few preceding pages, to step from the threshold of the best specimen of society, which this degraded people possess, at once into the wilds of this wild country, we will enter again the Valley of the St. Wakine.

During our stay in the country we went, in company with a friend, from Capt. Sutter's to the South, in order to examine the St. Wakine, to see the wild horses, and to visit the Capital, Monte Rey. We proceeded down the Sacramento, passed around the head of the Bay, and came to the St. Wakine River, thirty miles above its mouth, on the third day. This part of the country is inhabited by a very troublesome tribe of Indians called the Horse Thieves, and contains no white settlement. The character of these Indians will readily be inferred from their name, which is most appropriate. They have long been hostile to the Spaniards, and a short time previous had killed a white man, and it was therefore nec-

essary for us to be very cautious while we were passing through their country. They have their Villages in the small valleys and nooks, deep in the mountains, where they keep their women and children, and to which they fly as soon as they have committed any depredation. Among these fastnesses they enjoy their booty in quiet, the Spaniards not daring to follow them among the mountains. They subsist, principally, upon horse-flesh, some of which they procure from the wild bands which cover the Valley of the St. Wakine, but principally from the Spanish bands, from which they frequently drove off hundreds, and sometimes thousands of horses. Many of these Horse Thieves have been educated in the Catholic Missions, where they were comfortably fed and clothed, and promised homes during their lives; but when the Missions were broken up—by the avarice of the Spaniards, these Indians fled to the mountains, from whence they have since continued to commit depredations and destroy the lives and property of their own enemies and destroyers.

Traveling up the St. Wakine we frequently saw large herds of Elk and wild Horses. The Elk, which were often in herds of four and five hundred, were not very easily frightened, and seldom ran to a great distance; but the Horses, which were still more numerous and were scattered in large bands all along the river, after having satisfied themselves with approaching and examining us, would dash off across the valley at full speed, and, in their course, whatever bands they came near would join the flight, until frequently the plain would be covered with thousands and thousands flying in a living flood towards the hills. Huge masses of dust hung upon their rear, and marked their track across the plain; and even after they had passed entirely beyond the reach of vision, we could still see the dust which they were throwing in vast

clouds into the air, moving over the highlands. These frightened bands were never out of sight, so numerous are the wild horses on the St. Wakine. Continuing up the river we came, on the second day, to a coral, which had been built some time previous by our acquaintance, for the purpose of taking these wild horses. It was situated in a large slough of the river at a part which was then dry for several hundred yards, and was the principal crossing for the horses from an island containing several thousand acres, which was formed by the slough. There were two large bands upon the island when we arrived, and we made an effort to drive them into the coral, but they took another crossing and we did not succeed. Our friend pursued the first band that left the island, with the lasso, endeavoring to take a fine mule, which he selected; but his horse being fatigued, he was not able to come up with it. When the second started we put spur for the crossing which they were about to take, and arrived at the same time that the foremost horses of the band leaped down into the water. We endeavored to turn them, whooping and yelling most manfully, but those behind, urging those before, forced them forward and they began to rush by. The pass was narrow and the dust so obscured us that they frequently ran near enough for us to strike them in the sides as they were passing; but we were at length compelled to retire, on account of the suffocating effect of the dust. Presently, again approaching, with whooping and yelling we endeavored the second time to turn them, but they only gave way and closed around us and the dust again obliged us to retire; we finally succeeded in turning a few of the last, yet they were so determined to follow the others that we only drove them a few hundred yards towards the coral before they plunged down a perpendicular bank fifteen or twenty feet into the slough, burying themselves

completely under the water, and gaining the opposite shore followed the band. The Spaniards often take the wild horses in this manner, and frequently by pursuing them upon the open plain. When they have taken one, they confine it with ropes, saddle it, put a halter on it, and having again loosened it they mount and ride it furiously until it is completely exhausted. And they continue to do this until the animal becomes tame and tractable. These wild horses are of almost every color; some of them have a very fine appearance, but they are much smaller than well-bred horses, and their habits are, in some respects, entirely different from those of the domestic horses. From the coral we proceeded across the country to Monte Rey.

Arriving at Monte Rey we found a gentleman and his family who had left the States with us, and with whom, as we have before mentioned, we traveled as far as Fort Hall. They left Fort Hall for California, under the pilotage of Captain Walker, about the same time that we left it for the Falls of the Willamette. After traveling through the dreary country of which we have spoken, as far as the California Mountains, they followed that range South several hundred miles, and entered the Valley of the St. Wakine by Walker's Pass. The small supply of provisions which, by very unpleasant means, they at length procured at Fort Hall, after continued and persevering effort, were exhausted long before they could reach a place where they could be resupplied. A country so barren as that through which they were compelled to travel afforded neither game nor food of any kind, except that upon which the few miserable and beast-like Indians who inhabit that region subsist—lizzards, crickets, ants, and the like—and which would, of course, be revolting to the palate of any other people unless in the very extremity of starvation. They suffered extremely,

and before they arrived at the Pass they were driven to the necessity of eating some of the mules and horses which had served them so faithfully, and which were then poor and worn out with fatigue from long and laborious traveling over a country so rough and barren. They left their wagons and much of their baggage, and packing what they could upon the remainder of their fatigued animals they succeeded in gaining the Pass. When they came into the Valley of the St. Wakine they fared more bountifully upon the wild horses, which they found in good condition and in great abundance. They finally arrived in the winter at the settlements, and after suffering all hardships and privations were prepared to relish, in no small degree, the abundance which they afforded.

We also had an opportunity during our stay in the country of seeing most of those with whom we parted at Fort Boise, on Snake River. The gentleman in whose company we were at this time was one of that party. They followed the route which they expected at the time of our separation to follow, experiencing, fortunately, not so much difficulty in finding it as had been anticipated. Having left the head of the Malheur River, and traveled over a barren, sandy country about two days without water, they at length, after ascending a high mountain, came upon a lofty but beautiful table land, rich and wooded with pines or varied by prairies and coursed by many clear mountain streams. They discovered what they supposed to be the head of the Willamette and corrected an error which had previously been entertained concerning the source of the Sacramento. They had expected to endure suffering, and in this they were not mistaken. Although they were fortunate in finding their way through an unknown country, and still more so in preserving their lives from its brutal and hostile inhab-

itants, yet the lateness of the season, together with their entire ignorance of a great portion of the pathless wilds and precipitous mountains over which they had to pass, subjected them to numerous and serious hardships. At times when they saw no way to move forward an additional obstacle was opposed to their advancement by heavy falls of snow, greatly increasing, and at the same time concealing the dangers of their perilous way. Their provisions became exhausted. Some of their animals had been killed by the Indians, some dashed to pieces by falling from the rocks, and those that remained, poor from want of sufficient food and worn down by the journey, were all upon which the little party had to depend for the support of life. After encountering delays and suffering much from anxiety, fatigue, hunger, and cold, they at length succeeded in getting down into the Sacramento Valley. Thin and feeble themselves they finally arrived early in the winter at Capt. Sutter's, on foot and leading their animals, which were no longer able to carry them. This was a point where they had designed for a time to terminate their travels, and here they found that abundance and repose to which they had so long and eagerly looked, and which their present condition so much required.

Almost all the suffering which the emigrants to California experienced was owing to the detention which they were compelled to make along the road for the purpose of supplying themselves with provisions. Had they been properly provided before the commencement of the journey, and not depended at all on the game, they would have avoided it almost entirely. It is to be wondered at that the person who assumed the leading of the party, and who was then making his second trip to California, had not learned from his experience to give better counsel; but in respect to those who were unacquainted with

the country, it is not in the least astonishing that they should be mistaken in making the necessary preparations to travel comfortably and securely through a region so unlike everything to which they had ever been accustomed.

The Northern portion of Western California, considered in comparison with the Mississippi Valley, like Oregon, contains a great deal less fertile land in proportion to its extent. Much of this portion of California, which is far superior to any other, is taken up by mountains or lands otherwise unfit for cultivation; whereas, in the Mississippi Valley, the whole might be brought into one vast fruitful and unbroken field. From this reason the Mississippi Valley must always be the most productive and wealthy country. But on account of the delightful mildness and uniformity of the climate of California, it will forever be the most healthy and happy country.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO THE STATES.

JOURNEY FROM CAPTAIN SUTTER'S TO FORT HALL, WITH SOME OF ITS INCIDENTS.

Leave California for the United States — Difficulties in crossing Juba River — Extensive view from the summit of a mountain, with deep snow on one side and naked earth and fine grass on the other — Burnt Mountains — Boiling Springs — Sink of Marie's River, and singular peculiarity of the stream — Encamp in the bend of the River, and have horses shot by the Indians — Travel over extensive wastes, and finally come to the Oregon Trail.

Having spent some months in exploring the country and obtained a tolerably satisfactory knowledge of the greater part of Northern or Upper California, either from personal observation or by careful enquiries from such persons as had made themselves acquainted with the various portions of the country, we determined on leaving for the United States. After much trouble and exertion in raising a small company of fifteen persons, on the 12th of May, 1845, we left Capt. Sutter's on our homeward bound trip. We traveled

up the Sacramento on the East side forty miles, and then traveled up Bear Creek—our course being about East. Crossing the East side of the Sacramento Valley a distance of about twenty miles, we came to the spurs of the California Mountains. We continued to travel up through these hills, following the general course of the stream, until we came to its source, which is in a large marsh greatly elevated above the Sacramento Valley. At this marsh we remained one day in order to find a place where we could cross Juba River, which was a mile and a half distant, a stream of considerable size, very rapid, full of falls and canions, and was at this time quite high from the melting of snow on the mountains. It was only in a few places where the hills were sufficiently gradual to allow us to descend to the water, and these places were frequently between perpendicular falls, which were so near, and the velocity of the water so great, as to render the crossing very dangerous, if not absolutely impossible. This was the character of the first place where we struck the River, which was on the trail of a small emigrating company that came into California the previous summer. We had been told by a gentleman whom we had met a few days before, returning from the mountains where he had gone to get some wagons and other property which he had been compelled to leave in the Fall on account of the lateness of the season and the fear of being blocked up by the coming snows, that it would be impossible for us to cross the stream, and that it would be best for us to return. We, however, discovered a place where we ascended the mountain immediately above us, and having with much difficulty, on account of the steepness of the ascent, gained the summit; we followed the ridge—our progress being somewhat impeded by the snow—for about eight miles, and descended into a small bottom of the River. Traveling up the bottom about two miles, we

came to a high, rocky spur making into the water, around which we were at first unable to pass. But after searching and examining for a long time, we at length found a place where, by cutting away the brush for a considerable distance with our hatchets and plunging through the mire and snow, we could pass around the spur. Having accomplished this, and traveled up the narrow bottom about two miles further, we again came to where the mountain neared the river. The bottom land was miry and covered with brush, and the snow was about four feet deep. Our loose animals, which were in front, were crowded into the stream by the pack animals before we were aware of the situation. We succeeded, with difficulty, in stopping the animals which were packed with our provisions, etc., and stripping off our baggage and saddles, in the snow, we drove in the rest of our animals. They all succeeded in gaining a small island near the opposite shore, just large enough to contain them, where they stayed the whole night in the snow, without anything to eat. Having kindled a large fire, and arranged our camp, our next object was to make a way by which we could cross ourselves and baggage. For this purpose we felled a tree which, not being long enough to reach, was carried down the stream: we then selected a large, tall Fir, which we cut about half off and left it until the next morning, when we finished cutting it down. In falling it broke in two about fifteen feet from the opposite shore, and the top was carried away; the main trunk, however, lodged against the upper part of a large rock, and the force of the current supported it above. From the broken end of this tree we were able to throw poles across to the opposite shore, and in this manner we constructed a way upon which we carried across our baggage.

Having repacked our horses we continued up Juba River, traveling about an East course, sometimes in the

narrow bottom of the stream and sometimes upon the sides and summits of the ridges. The snow still continued deep and covered both the bottoms and the mountains in all parts around us; but it was very compact, and in the morning would generally bear our animals. We traveled up the North side about eleven miles and came to the forks of the stream, the North branch of which we crossed with difficulty, the current being very strong and the channel full of large rocks upon which some of our pack animals fell, and were carried down the stream, and we were compelled to leap into the water, just melted from the snow, and assist them to the shore. Having crossed, we came into a prairie about one mile in width and three or four in length, extending to the base of the main ridge of the mountain, which now lay immediately before us. We ascended this ridge without much labor, although it was composed entirely of granite, which lay in large detached fragments over the whole surface, and gained the summit. This, on either side of the narrow gap through which we passed, was very sharp and perfectly bald and barren. Immediately upon reaching the summit the whole Eastern side of the mountain burst upon the view, and a sudden thrill of joy awakened in every bosom and flashed in every eye, for the snow, which had so much impeded and made so disagreeable and dangerous the ascent on the West, had melted almost entirely away on the East. Down the mountain we could see a green spot, at the further end of a beautiful lake, which spread out in a broad crystal sheet below us. But although this was so pleasing to us, as it was now the third day since our animals had had any nourishment, we could not but remain for a moment to admire and enjoy the vastness of the prospect around us. On either side there was no limit to the vision, save the thickening air of the distant horizon, which bent down and rested

upon the far off hills, like the bending sky upon the bosom of the great deep. Within this wide range was a succession of mountain after mountain, increasing in height as they approached the summit upon which we stood. To the west, from whence we came, wherever we could see through the tall forests, all was wrapped in one unbroken sheet of snow; to the East, whither we were going, we looked down, down, until the eye was lost among the dimly descried, crowded and confused objects in the distance.

Descending the Eastern declivity we came to the lake, and passed around on the Northern side to the further extremity where we found the grass, which we had seen from the summit of the mountain, in abundance and of a very good quality. We remained at this place the rest of the day in order to refresh our animals, which were by this time much exhausted and fatigued from hunger and plunging through the snow. The distance from the forks of the Juba River to the lake is about ten miles, and in this lake the South branch of the Truckies River has its source. This stream was called by the emigrating party that went into California in the Fall of 1844, after the name of an Indian who piloted them across the mountains.

Leaving the lake and the river which flows from it to the right, we bore off to the North East for a wide, deep gap, through which we supposed that we could both pass and leave the mountains. At ten miles we crossed the North branch of Truckies River, a stream of considerable size. We traveled eight miles further to the head of a stream running to the North West, which we called Snow River, as a heavy fall of snow here obscuring our course, compelled us to halt. Snow continued to fall during this and the succeeding day, and we remained in camp. When it ceased we again proceeded on our journey, leav-

ing the gap for which we had been steering, and bearing to the East, through a break in the mountain which follows the course of the Truckies River, and which is a spur of the main California chain. Having crossed this mountain we again came, at five miles, to Truckies River, which we crossed and traveled down on the South side—passed across a barren plain, ten miles in width, and at fifteen miles, came to the Burnt Mountains. These are a succession of several high, perfectly barren, and very rocky ridges. The distance across is about thirty-five miles, and the way was very tedious and toilsome.

We found the Indians on Truckies River, generally, very wild, entirely naked, and miserably poor. They live in floating houses, constructed of long, coarse grass, on rafts of dry willow brush. They are armed with bows and arrows, and subsist almost entirely on lizzards, crickets, and muscles [*sic*].

Having crossed the Burnt Mountains, we found that it would be necessary for us to leave Truckies River, as it now bore too much to the North: and accordingly, we remained one day encamped in order to rest our animals, for a hard travel, across a sandy, unproductive plain, thirty-five miles, to the sink of Marie's River; which distance was without drinkable water. We passed three springs in the plain, but the first was salt, and the other two, which were close together, were both hot; the largest one, which was ten feet in diameter, was boiling furiously; and we could see the steam arising from it several miles. These springs rise through volcanic rock, and large fragments of the same are scattered over the ground around them.

At the sink of Marie's River the stream is lost in the sand. This sink is a large sandy marsh about three miles wide and ten miles long, full of bullrushes and very miry; the water which it contains is also warm and has a very

disagreeable taste. From this point we traveled up Marie's River, which flows from North East to the South West through a sandy plain almost entirely destitute of vegetation. This plain is about twenty miles wide and is bordered on each side by high, rugged, and perfectly barren mountains. On the lower part of the River we could find but little grass for our animals, and we had traveled two hundred miles up it before we found water coming in on either side. Unlike any other stream, perhaps, it is larger in the middle than anywhere else; it continued to increase in size as we proceeded up until we came to where it receives its last tributary. Here we encamped one night in the bend of the river, which we used as a corral, the guard standing at the entrance. During the night the animals made several attempts to rush by the guard and it was with the greatest difficulty that they were able to keep them. In the morning we were astonished to find four of them fatally wounded. They had been shot by the Indians, who had swam across in the night. We also found several arrows in the encampment, some of which had evidently been shot at the men. We left one of the animals dead in camp and another was able to go only a half a mile. The Indians had killed them to eat, and we were determined to disappoint them as much as possible by driving those that were able to travel away. After we had packed up two of us remained behind and the rest of the company proceeded, taking all the animals. We then concealed ourselves in the brush intending to kill if we could whoever came to the dead beast. The company had been gone about two hours when we saw an Indian coming toward us. He came within two hundred and fifty yards of the point of brush in which we were concealed, but thinking this rather a long shot we allowed him to pass, supposing that he would return to the horse after having ex-

amined the company's trail, which he seemed to be doing. He was, however, in all probability suspicious and went away and we saw nothing more of him or any other Indians. Having waited half an hour longer and finding that he did not return, we left our place of concealment and followed the company, three of whom we met after having gone about five miles, returning with our horses to meet us.

Overtaking our companions, we continued to travel up the river, finding now an abundance of grass in its bottoms and on its tributaries, which were still very rare. Fifty miles above our unfortunate encampment we left the river, and the last of our wounded animals. About the head of Marie's River there is a large extent of country covered with a superior quality of grass, the stalks, branching out into numerous heads, are loaded with seeds which are highly nutritious.

Leaving the valley, we crossed the spur of a mountain, which was also covered with grass, and came to waters running North, towards Snake River; and for fifty miles the country over which we traveled afforded excellent grazing. At the termination of this distance we came to a spot containing several acres full of small pools of hot water. From these hot pools we traveled over a mountainous country, leaving the main range, which was broken in several places by deep gaps, several miles to the left and between us and the Valley of Snake River. The grass became less abundant as we advanced, a great portion of the country became quite barren.

At one hundred miles from the Hot Pools we came to and crossed the Raft River, which empties into Snake River, twenty-three miles below the American Falls. Thence we crossed the main range of mountains, South of the Valley of Snake River, through a large deep gap, and at thirty miles came to the river five miles below the

junction of Portneiff; thence we proceeded to Fort Hall, a distance of twenty-three miles, where we arrived on the 20th day of June, forty days having elapsed since we left Capt. Sutter's in California.

In the whole country between the Eastern base of the California Mountains and Fort Hall we saw no game of any description, excepting a few Antelopes on the head of Marie's River. The greater portion of the country, after leaving the head waters of the Sacramento, is either broken by mountains or covered with extensive wastes of sand and volcanic desolation, and can never be inhabited by a people much superior to the insect and reptile eating savages, found at the present time upon some of its streams.

Here we will leave for a time the Company from California; return to the Falls of the Willammette, and follow, from that place, the Oregon Company, until the time when the two, having accidentally met in the mountains, united.¹

¹For the sake of uniformity of expression, "we" has been used throughout the previous pages, although it will be perceived by a reference to the introduction, that only Mr. Winter was in California.

THE QUARTERLY
of the
Oregon Historical Society

VOLUME VII]

DECEMBER, 1906

[NUMBER 4

DIARY OF THE EMIGRATION OF 1843¹

By JAMES W. NESMITH.

[James Willis Nesmith, one of the foremost of Oregon's pioneer citizens, was of Scotch-Irish parentage, and was born on the border line between Maine and New Brunswick, on July 23, 1820. At least two of his forefathers had fought for American liberty in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and others of the family had upheld the cause of the colonies during the great struggle against England, with the result that the young man inherited his love of country by natural consequence. His mother died while he was in infancy, and his early years were spent among relatives in New Hampshire and Ohio. As early as the winter of 1841-2 he had traveled as far west as Jefferson County, Iowa, and had heard of the party that intended leaving Independence in May or June, 1842, under the leadership of Dr. Elijah White. He endeavored to accompany the emigration, but arrived at the starting place too late, and was forced to abandon his trip for the time being. He spent most of the ensuing year in the employment of the Government as a carpenter in the construction of Fort Scott in Kansas, and was on hand at Independence early in May 1843, ready to become a member of the emigration that was to be led across the plains to Oregon by Dr. Marcus Whitman. At the time of the writing of this diary, James W. Nesmith was twenty-three years of age, and his education had been confined almost exclusively to the reading of a few books by standard authors.—The editor is indebted to Mr. Lewis Ankeny McArthur for the preparation of the Nesmith journals for publication.]

Thursday, May 18, 1843.—The Oregon company met at the grove West of Fitzhugh's Mill on May 18, 1843. The meeting was organized by calling Mr. Layson to the chair, and Mr. Burnett secretary. It was moved and seconded that there be a committee of nine appointed to draft rules and regulations to govern the company. Resolved, that a

¹ For further information concerning the emigration of 1843, see articles which have been published in *The Quarterly* as follows: "The Oregon Trail," with map, December, 1900; "A Day with the Cow Column in 1843," December, 1900; "Document," December, 1900, page 398; "Documentary," June, 1901, page 187; "Documents," June, 1902, page 390; "Documents," June, 1903, page 168; "Recollections of an Old Pioneer," March, 1904, page 64; "Recollections of an Oregon Pioneer of 1843," March, 1906, page 56; "Route Across the Rocky Mountains," March, 1906, page 62.

committee of seven be appointed for the purpose of inspecting the outfits of the different individuals comprising the company.

Saturday, May 20.—After several days preparatory arrangements, we agreed to rendezvous at the spring near Fitzhugh's Grove.

Sunday, May 21.—Cooper's wagons, with some others, start out from the encampment in the morning. I go to Fitzhugh's Mill with Squire Burnett and others to see the committee and Captain Gantt, in order to ascertain what arrangements had been made to secure the captain's services as pilot. This day was fine and clear. Took a farewell look at the State of Missouri. We overtook the wagons at a grove of timber, south of the Santa Fe Trail, where we encamped for the night.

Monday, May 22.—Trailed to Elm Grove, distance about ten miles. Encamped at the grove, consisting of one old elm stump, which the Santa Fe traders had chipped and trimmed for the purpose of procuring wood to cook with.

Tuesday, May 23.—Traveled about ten miles on the trail, then turned to the right and encamped about one mile from the trail at some timber near a small creek, distance about twelve miles.

Wednesday, May 24.—Pursued our way towards Kansas River. Traveled about twelve miles. Let our wagons down the bank of the Rockariski [Wakarusa] River and encamped on the west side. On this evening, Captain Gantt, the pilot, came into camp. Weather fine.

Thursday, May 25.—Traveled about fifteen miles to a creek. Some of the wagons encamped on each side.

Friday, May 26.—Arrived at Kansas. Crossed the river on a platform made of two canoes. Encamped on the northwest side, at the landing. I swam the river several times with ease, and once assisted a young man named Wm. Vaughn to shore. Another man assisted me. His name was G. W. Stewart. Came near drowning myself in consequence of Vaughn's struggling with me in the water. Camped on

Soldier Creek, two miles from Kansas Landing until we first organized and elected Peter Burnett captain and myself orderly sergeant.² Moved about five miles and encamped on the banks of the Kansas River, in a square. My duty required me to take the names of men for duty. They numbered 254. The number of wagons was 111.

Friday, June 9.—We moved from the wet encampment about two miles, and encamped about noon at a small grove of timber south of the trail. The weather cleared up about noon. We divided our company into four divisions and elected a captain and orderly sergeant for each. Sergeant Ford on guard.

Saturday, June 10.—Left the encampment about 8:00 o'clock. I went on with the advance guard. About 11:00 o'clock came up to where a dead Indian lay on the prairie, with his head cut off and his body much mutilated. Supposed to have been done by the late Kansas war party against the Pawnees. We picked up some arrows on the ground. Traveled about ten miles and encamped at a grove on the North side of the trail. All prairie to-day. The weather fine and the roads wet and soft. Sergeant Gilmore on guard.

Sunday, June 11.—Left camp about 8:00 o'clock. Weather fine. I traveled in advance with the pilot and advance guard. Time passed agreeably. Company moved on well, considering the soft condition of the ground. Passed the California wagons about 1:00 o'clock. Saw but little timber on the trail, but some in sight on the South side of Blue River, which we have been traveling up for four days, leaving the main fork from two to four miles on our left hand. Camped at night on the West side of Horse Creek, after a day's travel of fourteen miles. Rained in the evening. Had

² In his "Recollections of an Old Pioneer," published in The Quarterly for March, 1904, Mr. Peter H. Burnett gives the date of this election as being June 1. Reference to page 68 of the March, 1904, Quarterly will also furnish a short account of the happenings on the days omitted by Mr. Nesmith.

a great deal of difficulty crossing the creek, some of the company remaining on the opposite side all night.

Monday, June 12.—Left the encampment about 10:00 o'clock, this detainment occurred in consequence of some of the wagons being detained in crossing. I went on with the pioneers or advance guard. About 12:00 o'clock I discovered a buffalo on a ridge about two miles North of the trail. Captain Gantt, myself, and four others started in pursuit of him. He, in the meantime, came down in a hollow, either to drink or hide from us. When within about 200 yards, he discovered us, and after taking a most deliberate survey of our numbers, and seeming to weigh the chances like a general, he finally took to his heels, and we in hot pursuit. After running about half a mile, Captain Gantt came up and fired two pistols, which took effect in his fore shoulder. By this time I came up, and fired a rifle, the ball of which struck him in the small of the back and passed under his back bone, after which a Cherokee Indian fired a pistol and carbine. By this time he received seven balls, from pistols, principally, and I was ready with my rifle loaded for another shot, but Captain Gantt advised me not to fire, as he would soon die. He had now stopped, and soon began to reel, and fell. He proved to be one of the male kind, about eight years old. We soon flayed him, and packed our horses and started for the company, which we overtook in about five miles, all highly satisfied with our exploit. Trailed about ten miles and encamped at a small grove of timber South of the trail and one and a half miles North of Blue River. I have been more minute in describing this day's travel in consequence of its having been the first time buffalo have been seen on the tramp, and that merely by accident, as he was probably one who had wandered off from the rest of some drove, as he was the only one seen in the neighborhood, and very poor at that. I mounted as sergeant of the guard for the first time on the trip and had a pleasant night, and had the pleasure of being up to see it all.

Tuesday, June 13.—I left camp this morning with James

Williams and Ed. Otey, all mounted on mules, and armed with four pistols, a rifle and a bowie knife each, for the purpose of taking a buffalo hunt. We came to Blue River, made a raft, on which we placed our saddles, blankets, guns, pistols, and clothes, then swam over by the raft, and went back and swam the mules. Packed up and took out on the prairie to the dividing ridge between the Republican fork of the Kansas and Blue River, traveled up the ridge about ten miles, and came onto Blue River and camped at night. Saw no buffalo. Saw five elk and one Indian. Williams shot at one of the elk and missed it. Mister Indian ran off like the devil, leading two horses and riding another.

Wednesday, June 14.—We went up the Blue River about two miles and swam over in the morning, and met the company about noon, when we learned, greatly to our astonishment, that we had killed two buffalo the day before. One man saw us shoot, and saw the buffalo fall, and got Mr. Burnett and went with him and their horses, and swam Blue River to get some of the meat, but, to their astonishment, they could find neither us nor the meat. So much for the camp story, the origin of which was that we had shot two loads out of our guns, which had been loaded some time. This man saw from the opposite side of the river and made up the buffalo. Camped at night with the company on the bank of Blue River, after traveling sixteen miles to-day, and ten yesterday. The night we hunters camped at Blue River, the company camped at Ash Creek.

Thursday, June 15.—Traveled about sixteen miles. Camped on the bank of Blue River. I traveled with the advance guard. I saw several antelope, one killed by a man of our company. Tonight the council assembled to settle some difficulty between John B. Howell and Elbridge Edson. Circumstances too numerous to mention. Weather fine, a little rain at night.

Friday, June 16.—I traveled with the advance guard. Men hunting in every direction, and killed but little game.

Company traveled about eighteen miles and camped on the bank of Blue River. I mount guard. Weather fine and cool.

Saturday, June 17.—I traveled with the pilot and advance guard. Crossed some small creeks where the mountain road leaves the river. Camped at night, after traveling sixteen miles, at the last timber on Blue River. Weather in the forenoon, rainy; afternoon, clear and fine. Several Pawnees came into camp this evening for the first time. Mr. Applegate's company passed us in the evening. Sergeant Ford on guard.

Sunday, June 18.—Left the encampment on the waters of the Blue River, and took the upper road across the divide to the River Platte, distance about twenty miles; direction, about Northwest. Crossed several Pawnee trails, but not so numerous as some days previous. Struck up the Platte at Grand Island, not far from the head. River very high, appearance muddy, similar to that of the Missouri. Prairie to-day tolerably level and of a sandy quality. Passed no running water. Some ponds in the prairie. Passed no timber to-day, nor found any that could be got at the river.

Monday, June 19.—Started early in the morning, after passing a night without wood. Went about five miles and got breakfast. Encamped at night near the bank of the Platte, after traveling ten miles.

Tuesday, June 20.—This morning myself and twenty other men started ahead of the company with horses and mules to hunt and pack skins and buffalo meat to the crossing up the South Fork by the time the company should arrive at that point. Encamped at night at a small creek called Ash Creek.

Wednesday, June 21.—Traveled up the Platte River till evening. Killed a buffalo bull and calf, and two antelope, and suffered very much from a very hard, cold rain. Waded a slough and camped on the river bank among some willows. Lay in wet blankets on the wet sand. Extremely cold.

Thursday, June 22.—Trailed about sixteen miles and camped on the bank of the river. Plenty of good wood and water, and for that reason called it Camp Satisfaction, and the place where we camped the night before Camp Disagreeable.

Friday, June 23.—Found buffalo about 2:00 o'clock, and killed four, and encamped on the bank of a slough putting into the river. Tonight lived high, had fine times.

Saturday, June 24.—Laid by all day. I stopped in camp with Mr. Reading and three other men. Dried meat all day. The rest of the men hunted and packed in without much success. Tonight our hunters saw the company encamped four miles in our rear. I stood a tour of guard.

Sunday, June 25.—Nine of us pushed on to near the crossing and camped at night. The rest went to the company. Formed our camp where the bluffs first come to the river, about six or eight miles below the usual crossing place.

Monday, June 26.—The company came up and overtook us about noon at the crossing, but found the water so high that it was impossible to ford the river. Traveled about sixteen miles to-day and camped on the river bank. Burned buffalo wood, as we have done for the last four days. Applegate's company four miles in our rear. General McCarver left us to join the other company.

Tuesday, June 27.—Traveled about twelve miles. Camped on the bank. At noon five buffalos crossed the river and ran close to the wagons. The Invincibles turned out and kept up a running fire, like a military muster. Succeeded in killing three.

Wednesday, June 28.—I went ahead with the pilot. At noon we went out about six miles from the river. Saw several buffalo. Killed one old bull, too poor to eat. Brought in his tongue. Camped at night on the bank of the Platte, after traveling fifteen miles. Weather fine, no rain since the twenty-first of the month. Yesterday we experienced in the morning about 8:00 o'clock a very warm wind from the

South and Southwest, which lasted about half an hour. Never experienced the like before. I am for guard to-night.

Thursday, June 29.—Spent some time in the morning attempting to find a fording place in the river, but was unsuccessful in the attempt. Started about 9:00 o'clock. Stopped to eat at 10:00 o'clock near a small pond in the prairie. The water in taste resembled a strong solution of salts, which rendered it unfit for use, in fact, all the water we have had except river water since we struck the Platte has been strongly impregnated with some mineral which is said to be salts and appears to have the effects of that medicine on the person who makes use of it. The ground in many places which are rather low is covered with a white substance which has a salty taste. Captain Gantt calls it sulphate of soda. Traveled to-day about ten miles and encamped at a grove consisting of some large cottonwood trees, where we intend crossing the river. Sergeant Ford to guard.

Friday, June 30.—Today laid at grove making arrangements preparatory to crossing. Killed several buffalo. Packed in the skins of eight that were killed last evening to make skin boats. Myself and some others had some sport with a buffalo bull which had two of his legs broken. Got him very mad by plaguing him and closed the scene by shooting him in the head. Camped in the timber at the same place we camped the night before, not moving our wagons. Sergeant Gilmore on guard.

Saturday, July 1.—Some stir in camp this morning in consequence of a sentinel's gun going off accidentally, which killed a mule belonging to James Williams, the bullet breaking the mule's neck. This is the most serious accident which has yet occurred from carelessness in the use of fire-arms, though, judging from the carelessness of the men, I have anticipated more serious accidents before this time, and if they do not occur, they will be avoided by great good luck, not by precaution. In the afternoon the company crossed several loads in wagon bodies, which they have

covered with raw buffalo hides to prevent their leaking. Captain Applegate and Dr. Whitman came into camp this evening, their company being camped eight miles below this place. Mr. Stewart had the gratification of being presented with a daughter this evening. Weather cool and pleasant.

Sunday, July 2.—Wind cold and strong from Southwest. Our company commenced crossing tolerably early. Weather extremely cold and water still colder. Part of the company crossed the river, and the balance lay at Sleepy Grove. My time for guard to-night. Mr. Childs and Waldo joined us this evening, destination, California.

Monday, July 3.—Continued crossing the river. Two men arrived in our camp this evening from Applegate's company, to get our skin boats for their company to cross eight miles below this place. They bring us intelligence of one of their company being lost by the name of Bennett O'Neil. He had been out three days. They have made vigilant search which proved unsuccessful. An accident occurred to-day in our company. Mr. Kerritook, a half-blood Cherokee, went out in the hills in quest of game. In firing at an antelope, his rifle burst at the breech, and injured him severely, though not dangerously. Most of our company have crossed with their baggage, their wagons still remaining on the South side. I stopped all night on the South side with a small detachment of our company. Weather fine and cool.

Tuesday, July 4.—The glorious Fourth has once more rolled around. Myself, with most of our company, celebrated it by swimming and fording the South fork of the Big Platte, with cattle, wagons, baggage and so forth. All this at Sleepy Grove. However, there seems to be some of our company ruminating upon the luxuries destroyed in different parts of the great Republic on this day. Occasionally you hear something said about mint julips, soda, ice cream, cognac, porter, ale and sherry wine, but the Oregon emigrant must forget those luxuries and, for a time, submit to hard fare, and put up with truly cold-water celebrations, such as we have enjoyed to-day, namely, drinking cold water

and wading and swimming in it all day. This ought to satisfy any cold-water man. If it won't, he must go on to a larger stream than the Big Platte.

Wednesday, July 5.—About twenty of us go down below camp in the evening, and haul some wagons out of the river which have been left there since yesterday. Company variously engaged, some bringing over their wagons, others packing their goods, preparatory to starting. Weather extremely warm and sultry.

Remarks.—Sleepy Grove. In calculating the distance on our route, we find it 460 miles from Independence. This grove is the first timber of any consequence on the river above where we struck it. The grove consists of large cottonwoods and willows, situated under the bluff on the margin of the river, which is about half a mile wide at this place, and partakes very much of the character of the Missouri River, being full of floating sand, with quicksand beeches, the general direction varying a little from East and West. Finished crossing everything belonging to the company this evening without any serious disaster. After dark we took a little recreation on a sand beach, in the shape of a dance, having two good violin players with their instruments. But that part of the company which is generally most interesting on such occasions, happened to be absent from our party, viz: the ladies. This deficiency was not owing to there being none with the caravan, as we have several bright-eyed girls along, but we deemed it rather unnecessary to invite them to participate in our rough exercise of kicking sand.

Thursday, July 6.—The whole company went seven miles down the river to get timber. Encamped all night on the bank. Killed one buffalo. Childs and Waldo's company left us here and went on three miles further. Several wagons broke off from our company to join them, among the rest, Old Prairie Chicken. Nobody sorry. I mount guard as sergeant. Rained in the night.

Friday, July 7.—Crossed the divide between the two forks of the Platte, course about north, northwest. Traveled

twenty-five miles. Camped on the north fork about two miles in the rear of Childs and Waldo. Several of our men lost this evening. A little rain in the night.

Saturday, July 8.—The company traveled up the north fork about eighteen miles. Myself and three others went back on the plains to hunt some lost men belonging to our company. Found them in about seven miles and overtook the company at noon. Roads in some places rather sandy. Saw no buffalo to-day except a few on the north side of the river.

Sunday, July 9.—Traveled about fifteen miles, and camped on the bank of the river. Came in sight of the Chimney about noon. Childs and Waldo's company still ahead. I mount sergeant of the guard and have some sport. Gave two members of the old guard a tour by way of punishment for sleeping on post the night before. Found one of my men sleeping at post and took his gun away from him.

Monday, July 10.—Childs and Waldo out of sight ahead. I go on with a party to look at the Chimney. Eight or ten of us ascend to the top of the mound from whence the shaft or column of clay and sand ascends about 150 feet above the mound, which is about 200 feet high, making 350 feet above the level of the plains, and one of the greatest curiosities I have ever seen in the West, and can be seen distinctly thirty miles on the plains. The shaft is about twenty-five feet in diameter, and at a distance of thirty miles, resembles the trunk of a tree standing erect. There are also many other mounds and high clay bluffs in the neighborhood of the Chimney. We camped at night in the bank of the Platte about nine miles from the Chimney. Its appearance from here resembles a funnel reversed. Traveled sixteen miles to-day.

Tuesday, July 11.—Company left the Platte this morning and turned to the left in order to avoid some high bluffs on the river. Mr. Reading and myself left the trail and kept between it and the river, in order to examine the curiosities in the hills. Passed some very high bluffs, one of which we

named the Betzar, in consequence of its resembling a building of that name in Cincinnati. We went down some very deep ravines, some of which were fifty feet, with perpendicular banks, in some places only wide enough for a mule to pass. We killed one badger and shot at two buffalo. We struck the company at 4:00 o'clock and camped on a small creek in the prairie, about four miles from the river. At this place we got a view of the Black Hills, 100 miles distant. Company today traveled twenty miles. Weather warm.

Wednesday, July 12.—Sold a gun at camp this morning, belonging to Isaac Williams, for having gone to sleep on post last night. In traveling ten miles we struck a sandy creek, and the river in four miles after. Camped on the bank of the river, under some high, sandy and clay bluffs, after traveling sixteen miles. I mounted sergeant of the guard.

Thursday, July 13.—Traveled about twelve miles. Passed an old fort about 2:00 o'clock on the banks of the river. The ground we have traveled over to-day seems to partake of a more undulating character. This evening our advance guard returned over the hills bringing information that there was an Indian village about two miles in advance, probably Sioux. We deemed it expedient to turn over to the right and encamp on the river, rather than camp in the neighborhood of the village. The boys seemed to be busily engaged in scouring up their old rifles and making other arrangements preparatory for Indian fighting, although we anticipate no danger.

Friday, July 14.—Arrived at Fort Laramie about 10:00 o'clock where we found Childs and Applegate's company. Found Laramie Ford very high, and the company was engaged all the afternoon and all night in ferrying. The boys at Fort Platte gave us a ball in the evening, where we received hospitable treatment.

Saturday, July 15.—The company finished crossing this morning. We lay here to-day making some arrangements for starting. Saw some of the Sioux Indians who had come in from the recent fight with the Pawnees on the forks of

the Platte, where they killed thirty-six, six or seven only escaping. I swapped guns twice to-day and got the worst of the bargain.

Sunday, July 16.—The company got under way this morning, traveling out to the big spring on Sand Creek, about eight miles, in company with Childs. Camped together, Applegate's company having gone ahead. We camped at the spring all night. Ford on guard.

Monday, July 17.—Traveled about sixteen miles, country very rough and hills very high. Camped at night between the two canyons of the Platte.

Tuesday, July 18.—Childs' company traveled ahead. Stopped at noon, just below a canyon on the Platte. Camped at night at a dry creek with a great deal of cottonwood. Traveled fifteen miles. Made camp in the point between the Platte and the cottonwoods. Very high bluffs on the opposite side.

Wednesday, July 19.—Country very rough, it being the worst part of the Black Hills. Passed some red bluffs, and in some places red pulverized earth, resembling vermillion, covered the ground. Traveled about twenty miles. Camped on Big Rock Creek, having passed Deer Creek during the day. Ford on guard. An alarm at night originated in some very smart young men firing their guns near the camp after dark, and for so doing were put under guard by order of Colonel Martin. They raised a row with the guard, and like to have made a serious matter of it, and as it was, they cocked their rifles and threatened to shoot.

Thursday, July 20.—I came on ahead with Captain Gantt and an advance guard, passed over some very rough road, and at noon came up to a fresh grave with stones piled over it, and a note tied on a stick, informing us that it was the grave of Joel Hembree, child of Joel J. Hembree, aged six years, and was killed by a wagon running over its body. At the head of the grave stood a stone containing the name of the child, the first death that has occurred on the expedition. The grave is on the left hand side of the trail, close

to Squaw Butte Creek.³ After crossing the creek we came to a party of mountaineers from the Black's Fork of Green River. They had stopped for dinner. Had several pack horses packed with furs belonging to Mr. Vasques, who treated us very hospitably. We found with Mr. Vasques and his party, two men returning from Oregon, giving a very bad account of that country. They also had letters to some of our company, which differed very much from their verbal account. We traveled to-day about twelve miles. Childs' company of five wagons left our company and went on to the crossing of North Fork.

Friday, July 21.—Left Squaw Butte Creek, traveled fifteen miles and camped on the Platte. I mount as sergeant of the guard.

Saturday, July 22.—Trailed six miles and camped on the Platte about noon, and endeavored to find a ford. Several men sick in camp, afflicted with a kind of fever. The company discontented and strong symptoms of mutiny. Some anxious to travel faster, some slower, some want to cross the river here, some want to go ahead, and others want to go any way but the right way. This will always be the difficulty with heterogeneous masses of emigrants crossing these plains. While every man's will is his law, and lets him act or do as he pleases, he will always find friends to support him. In order to obviate this difficulty and maintain good order in large companies, the presence of military force, and a declaration of martial law is highly necessary. Then emigrants will travel in peace, harmony and good order. They have the elements of their own destruction within themselves.

Sunday, July 23.—This is my birthday, being twenty-three years of age, and upwards of 3,000 miles West of the place of my birth. The company got under way. Edwin Otey and myself struck out toward a large mountain South in quest of game. I shot an antelope and returned to the

³ Cf. Quarterly for December, 1900, page 402.

company about noon. Found them nooning on the ground near the ford, where Applegate's company had crossed the river the evening previous. We came in sight of them about 3:00 o'clock crossing a high ridge at right angles with the river. Two men from Childs' company met us this evening, informing us that they were all across the north fork, about ten miles ahead, but could not find Sir William Stewart's gum elastic boat, as they had directions they would find it in the fork of a tree. Elected five councilmen. Traveled twelve miles. Camped on a small creek about a mile from the Platte. Sergeant Gilmore for guard.

Monday, July 24.—Got up to the crossing about noon. Applegate's company on the opposite side. Drove across in the afternoon without difficulty. Camped at night on the banks of the Platte. Traveled six miles. I mount guard.

Tuesday, July 25.—Left the Platte, struck across to Sweet Water, trailed about eighteen miles and camped on a salt creek.

Wednesday, July 26.—Company started on a buffalo hunt under the direction of Captain Gantt. Saw a great many buffalo. Captain Gantt got mad and all separated. I killed a buffalo. Overtook the company at night, they having trailed eighteen miles. Company camped on a beautiful creek seven miles from Sweet Water.

Thursday, July 27.—Six of us started on a buffalo hunt this morning, crossing a mountain, killed three cows and several bulls. Camped out all night; lay without blankets or coats in the rain. Company consisted of Edwin and Morris, Otey, Chimp, Jackson, Howell and myself. Saw a great many buffalo and had a severe night without sleeping. Company traveled eight miles.

Friday, July 28.—Looked around camp this morning; found the buffalo all traveling. Probably got wind of the caravan. Started for the company about 8:00 o'clock in a very cold rain. Howell took sick and threw away his meat. Got up to our wagons in the evening. They lay at Independence Rock, our company having split. Colonel

Martin, with most of the wagons, has gone ahead. Our wagon and some others of his company fell in with some deserters from Applegate's company, making in all nineteen wagons. All the rest of the company ahead. Applegate's camp on Sweet Water at the rock, and our company just below. The Oregon emigrating company has been strangely divided, and no doubt the dividend will be again divided. The materials it is formed of can not be controlled.

Saturday, July 29.—Applegate's company leaves the rock this morning. Our little company remains at its first camp. Captain Cooper assumes command of the company. We spend the day in drying meat, cleaning up our wet firearms, making moccasins, etc. Several of our men are out hunting; others came in this evening, and report that the buffalo are all on the move in the direction of the Yellowstone River. Some hunters arrive at our camp to-night, who belong to the other company, bringing but little meat. I mount guard as private tonight for the first time on the trip.

Sunday, July 30.—Most beautiful morning, the weather calm and serene. After breakfast, myself, with some other young men, had the pleasure of waiting on five or six young ladies to pay a visit to Independence Rock. I had the satisfaction of putting the names of Miss Mary Zachary and Miss Jane Mills on the Southeast point of the rock, near the road, on a high point. Facing the road, in all the splendor of gunpowder, tar and buffalo greese, may be seen the name of J. W. Nesmith, from Maine, with an anchor. Above it on the rock may be found the names of trappers, emigrants, and gentlemen of amusement, some of which have been written these ten years. The rock is an unshapen pile, about half a mile long, and half that breadth, and 100 feet high, and is accessible at three or four places. The composition of the rock I am unable to give geologically, but its appearance is a flinty, gray substance, mixed with limestone and very hard. Sweet Water River runs by the foot of it about fifty yards distant, and a great many high mountains and peaks are in the neighborhood. The distance from

Sweet Water to Platte by road is about forty-three miles. Wood and water scarce. Plenty of salt water and mountain sage and chamisso,⁴ which answers as a substitute for wood. In fact, salt lakes and salt springs may be found all through this country.

Monday, July 31.—Left the encampment near Independence Rock about 11:00 o'clock. Came up to Martin's company about 2:00 o'clock, and found some very sick men in the company. Among the rest were Mr. Payne and Stevenson. The latter seemed very dangerous of fever, and flighty, uttering incoherent sentences. His situation excited my sympathy, to see a fine, stout young man reduced to a wreck by disease, far from his home and friends. I took a parting look, never expecting to behold him again. We went three miles beyond Martin's company and camped, trailed seven miles. We have in company thirteen wagons and thirty-one men, a small band, indeed, but all seemed determined to go on through. We camped on Sweet Water, with a high range of mountains on the right, or Northwest, the mountains composed principally of solid rock. Applegate and Childs ahead. Old Zachary, a man fond of rows, has been excluded from Martin's company for defrauding a young man by the name of Matney out of his provisions, and throwing him off in the wilderness. The old rogue, with the two Oteys, is encamped about a mile ahead alone; a small camp, but a big rascal. Visited the Canyon of the Sweet Water. The cut is in a rock about eight feet wide and 200 feet high.

Tuesday, August 1.—Traveled twenty miles. I went hunting with three others, killed a bull. Vasques and Walker's mountain party came up with us. We all camped close to Child's company at Sweet Water under a point of mountain. Twenty miles.

⁴ Chamisso: A small evergreen shrub, of the genus *Adenostoma*, natural order *Rosaceae*, bearing clusters of small awl-shaped leaves, and a small white flower. In California, two species of the plant cover much of the dry area with a dense undergrowth, and are called locally chamisal. The plants ordinarily grow in scattered clumps, and are from four to eight feet high.

Wednesday, August 2.—Childs and Walker left us this morning, turning to the left for the purpose of curing meat. I went out with Captain Applegate and Dr. Whitman and took dinner at their encampment, on a sand creek, where they had killed seven cows the evening previous. All hands considerably alarmed about Indians, fearing an attack from the Cheyennes and Sioux, who are said to be in camp in great numbers forty miles South on the Platte. I returned to our camp and found them encamped on Sweet Water, having trailed seven miles today. Martin's company close in the rear. Came in sight of a high range of mountains with snow on them, said to be the Mountains of Wind River. Martin's company passed us and encamped a mile and a half ahead.

Thursday, August 3.—Made an early start; passed Martin's company in corral. Left Sweet Water to the right and made a cut-off of the bend. Traveled eighteen miles before we struck the river; found only a little water in one place, which was strongly impregnated with sulphur. The country presents a barren aspect, very sandy, and covered with sage. Mountains in every direction in sight. Encamped at night where we struck the river. Trailed twenty miles. Martin's company camped on the river 200 yards below our encampment. I mount guard; fourth relief.

Friday, August 4.—Mr. Payne, a man in Martin's company, died this morning at 3:00 o'clock. He suffered severely, being unwell since we left Fort Laramie. Died of inflammation of the bowels, leaving a wife and four small children. He was decently interred on a rise of ground at the left of the road. Myself, with four others, went hunting and killed no game. About 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon we heard a loud, sharp report, seeming to be in the air directly above us, and resembling the report of a piece of heavy artillery. After the first report, there was a loud rumbling sound overhead. I never heard the like before, though such reports are said to be frequent in the mountains. At the time of hearing the noise, there were no clouds

to be seen of any size. We came up to our company encamped on Sweet Water, in the evening, having traveled ten miles.

Saturday, August 5.—Traveled fifteen miles over very rough road. Several of us went hunting, killed one antelope, one groundhog and five sage hens. Crossed several small branches of good water. High mountains in sight. Nights very cold; middle of the day very warm. Traveled eighteen miles. Distance to Fort Laramie, 231 miles.

Sunday, August 6.—Traveled twelve miles. Passed Applegate's company and encamped on Sweet Water. Wind River Mountains in sight.

Monday, August 7.—Left Sweet Water this morning, it being the last water of the Atlantic that we see. Traveled six miles and nooned at the spring. In the afternoon, struck out across the twenty-mile barren, without wood, water or grass. Stopped half way, having traveled sixteen miles. Crossed the Divide August 7.

Tuesday, August 8.—After a considerable delay, in consequence of the cattle wandering off in quest of food, we gathered up and left camp about 9:00 o'clock. Traveled until about 2:00 o'clock A. M., across a plain of sand and sage, and encamped on Sandy, a small tributary of the Colorado. We now consider ourselves in Oregon Territory, and we consider this part of it a poor sample of the El Dorado. We encamped on Sandy, Applegate's and Martin's company having gone ahead. Traveled ten miles.

Wednesday, August 9.—I started on ahead to go to Fort Bridger, but stopped at Ham's Fork, and most of our company and men arrived at Fort Bridger, on Black's Ford, Monday, August 14.

Tuesday, August 15.—Cooper puts up his tools and does some work for the company. I will here remark, as I have not kept the separate day's travel and distances, that from Little Sandy to here the distance is sixty miles. On those days which I have neglected journalizing, there was nothing of importance occurred, except the death of Mr. Stevenson,

which took place on August 9. He was buried on the banks of Big Sandy.

Wednesday, August 16.—Remained all day at the fort. Cooper trades his large wagon and blacksmith's tools for a smaller one. A child of Mr. Carey's died yesterday and was buried this morning.

Tuesday, August 17.—Left the fort this morning, all the rest of the wagons having previously started. We struck out for Muddy Creek, where we arrived about noon, and proceeded up the creek about eight miles, making, in all, twenty miles travel today. This is the most barren country I have seen yet, as it is entirely destitute of grass, excepting occasionally a very little along the creek. In the evening, as we attempted to cross Muddy, our large wagon capsized, throwing all the loading into the water and wet all our clothing, blankets also. Our flour we saved without any material injury. After an hour's wading in water and mud waist deep, we succeeded in getting everything out, excepting the coupling pole broke. We replaced it with a new one after dark. Traveled twenty miles.

Friday, August 18.—Traveled twelve miles; overtook Waldo's company on the head of Muddy Creek.

Saturday, August 19.—Left the head of Muddy this morning. Crossed a large mountain. Found some of the cattle absent; myself and Major Hall went back in quest of them, but we ascertained at Stoughton's camp that they were driven ahead. We rode until midnight over very rough road before we overtook the company. Traveled fifteen miles.

Sunday, August 20.—Struck Bear River about noon, and traveled down it about ten miles over a fine level bottom. Course, Northwest. Traveled about twenty miles.

Monday, August 21.—Traveled twenty miles down Bear River and camped on the bank. Upset McHaley's wagon in Bear River.

Tuesday, August 22.—Seven wagons of us left camp this morning, leaving McHaley and Applegate to lay by. We

leave the river and cross over a high mountain about three miles and come to the river at night. Traveled fifteen miles. Encamped on the river; caught some fine, large trout and chubs. Traveled eighteen miles.

Wednesday, August 23.—Lieutenant Freemont, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, with his party, overtook us this morning. Myself and Mr. Otey go on ahead to get an ox of ours in the other company. Came up to a village of Snake Indians at noon. Did some trading. I bought a black horse. Camped on a small creek three miles from Bear River. Traveled fifteen miles.

Thursday, August 24.—Passed the Soda Springs about 2:00 o'clock. Camped on Bear River at a place where our trail leaves it. Traveled eighteen miles.

Friday, August 25.—Leave Bear River; traveled twenty miles over to a creek running into the Snake River, by the name of Portneuf. Saw to-day signs of volcanic eruptions. They appear to be numerous all along Bear River. The stones which lay about large sinks in the ground, have the appearance of melted clay, and ring like earthenware. Their appearance is very singular. However, the greatest curiosity in this part of the country are the soda springs, which boil up in level ground and sink again. They are quite numerous and have exactly the taste of soda water without the syrup. The springs are continually sparkling and foaming. Camped on Portneuf.

Saturday, August 26.—Traveled sixteen miles; camped at some springs. Kit Carson, of Freemont's company, camped with us, on his return from Fort Hall, having been on express.

Sunday, August 27.—Traveled twenty miles and camped to the left of the trail, near where we strike off for Snake River. Most of the country is very rough that we have passed to-day.

Monday, August 28.—Traveled twelve miles to-day and arrived at Fort Hall, where we remained until Friday, September 1. Here the company had considerable trading with

Grant, manager here for the Hudson's Bay Company. He sells at an exorbitant price; flour, 25 cents per pint; sugar, 50; coffee, 50; rice, 33 1-3. Part of the company went on with pack animals, leaving their wagons. Nothing of importance occurred, with the exception of a Mr. Richardson dying. Was buried August 31 at Fort Hall.

Friday, September 1.—Got under way this morning. Weather very cold and rainy, as it has been for the last three days. Trailed down Snake River fifteen miles. Passed some fine mill sites. Camped on Snake River.

Saturday, September 2.—Road very rough to-day. Broke our wagon tongue. Trailed eighteen miles. Camped on a small branch about six miles from the river.

Sunday, September 3.—This morning, Jackson, Cooper's teamster, left and joined Zachary's mess. Trailed sixteen miles without wood, water or grass. Camped on a small branch with excellent grass.

Monday, September 4.—Got an early start this morning. Traveled ten miles to the river. Nooned on the river. Traveled down it and camped on the bank, making twenty miles to-day. The river here assumes a broad, placid, and beautiful appearance, the water being very clear, unlike any of the rivers in the Western states.

Tuesday, September 5.—Traveled twelve miles. Encamped on the bank of a creek, with but little water, and that in holes. Stopped about 2:00 o'clock and lay by in the afternoon, as it was raining. Two lodges of Nez Perces Indians, returning to Walla Walla from Fort Hall.

Wednesday, September 6.—Trailed eight miles and struck Rock Creek. Trailed eight down it. Encamped in the canyon at the crossing, making sixteen miles trailed. Rainy in the evening.

Thursday, September 7.—Left the canyon in the morning and traveled twenty miles over a country destitute of grass. Struck the river ten miles above the Salmon Falls. Encamped for the night. Trailed twenty miles.

Friday, September 8.—Trailed down five miles. Encamped

on a creek with good grass. I went down to the falls and purchased some fine salmon. Had a fight in camp this evening. Old Zachary stabbed Mr. Wheeler with his knife.

Saturday, September 9.—Passed the falls and trailed twenty miles. Encamped on a big bluff without grass. White's ox fell down the bluff and broke his neck.

Sunday, September 10.—I took a trip down the river this morning in quest of animals. Overtook the wagons in two miles. Traveled eight miles. Encamped on an island in the river.

Monday, September 11.—Crossed the river this morning without difficulty. Trailed four miles. Encamped on a dry branch, water in holes.

Tuesday, September 12.—We were detained in camp this morning until 12:00 o'clock in consequence of an ox running off. Trailed five miles in the afternoon. Encamped on a small creek. Grass tolerable.

Wednesday, September 13.—Trailed fifteen miles. Passed the Hot Spring about noon. Water almost boiling. Camped on a small branch.

Thursday, September 14.—Traveled eight miles and lay by at a small creek in the afternoon. Weather fine.

Friday, September 15.—Lost my horse this morning, and trailed a-foot all day. Found my horse at camp, Cooper having brought him on and left me to walk all day. We traveled twenty miles. Country very rough. Camped on a small branch, eight miles West of the deep hole spring.

Saturday, September 16.—Trailed eighteen miles today, the country not quite so rough as we have had. Very little stone or sage. Encamped at night on Boise River.

Sunday, September 17.—Trailed down Boise on the South side. Traveled sixteen miles. Encamped on the bank of the river. Indians in camp this evening. We have seen them for the last four or five days. Every day they come to sell us dried salmon, and present a poor, squalid appearance, besides being d—d lousey.

Monday, September 18.—Trailed ten miles down the river

and crossed. Trailed three miles down the North side and encamped early, making thirteen miles trailed to-day. Find the grass tolerably good on Boise River.

Tuesday, September 19.—Haggard and myself went to Fort Boise ahead of the wagons; distance ten miles. The wagons arrived in the afternoon. The wind blowing very hard from the Northwest, we found it impossible to ford the river, as the swells rolled very high. Encamped for the night just below the fort. Visited Monsieur Payette, the commandant; found him a very agreeable old French gentleman, and has been in this country, in the fur trade, since 1810, having left New York in that year and came around by sea to the mouth of the Columbia, in the employment of Mr. Astor. We spent a pleasant evening in his company and had a dance.

Wednesday, September 20.—Crossed the river this afternoon without any difficulty, water being about four feet six inches deep. Encamped on the south side of the river.

Thursday, September 21.—Left the river this morning. Traveled twelve miles and encamped on a creek called Malheur. Warm spring on the bank.

Friday, September 22.—Trailed seventeen miles and encamped on a small stream. Country very rough.

Saturday, September 23.—Trailed five miles and struck Snake River; said to be the last sight we get of it. Trailed four miles and struck Burnt River, making nine miles. Killed a beef in the evening. Provisions getting scarce.

Sunday, September 24.—Trailed ten miles over the roughest country I ever saw, Burnt River being hemmed in by hills on both sides. Encamped in the bottom.

Monday, September 25.—Trailed eight miles. Passed the forks of Burnt River. The roads rough and the country rougher still. Encamped near the head of the left hand fork of Burnt River. In the forenoon passed a fine grove of large timber, principally Balm of Gilead, close by a patch of fine black haws, which we devoured most voraciously.

Tuesday, September 26.—Trailed ten miles. Passed an-

other fork of Burnt River, with an Indian village close by. Encamped at a place where the trail leaves Burnt River near the spring.

Wednesday, September 27.—Looney's wagon turned over this morning soon after leaving camp. We crossed the divide and encamped at the lone pine tree. Trailed twelve miles. Snow, that fell the night before last on the mountains, in sight all day. Weather drizzly and rainy.

Thursday, September 28.—Left the pine tree this morning. Trailed fourteen miles. Encamped on the third fork of Powder River. Had a fine view of the snow-topped mountains through the clouds. Raining below them.

Friday, September 29.—Trailed sixteen miles and encamped in Grande Ronde, a beautiful bottom prairie about six miles across and surrounded by mountains capped with snow. Had some difficulty in entering the Ronde in consequence of the big hill which it was necessary for us to descend. Soil to-day assumed a more fertile appearance than any I have seen west of the mountains, in some places covered with beautiful green grass, giving it the appearance of spring.

Saturday, September 30.—Trailed six miles across Grande Ronde. Encamped at the foot of the mountains, and lay by in the afternoon.

Sunday, October 1.—Started over the mountains. Trailed twelve miles and encamped on a small dry creek in a deep ravine. To-day E. Otey and myself went hunting. Had a beautiful prospect of the Grande Ronde from the top of the mountains. Found the mountains covered with evergreen trees which remind me of the scenes of my childhood. They consist of pine, spruce, hemlock, fir, and tamarack or juniper. Mrs. Rubey died at Grande Ronde, and was buried October 1.

Monday, October 2.—Trailed twelve miles to-day over bad roads, in many places timber to be cut. I went in advance and cut timber all day. Encamped at night on a small stream of good water.

Tuesday, October 3.—Had some difficulty this morning in

finding our oxen, some of them having lain down in the pine thickets. Started about ten o'clock. Trailed about three miles. Crossed a very bad ravine and encamped on the west side of it. Weather since we left Grande Ronde fine, warm and mild. Nights rather cool.

Wednesday, October 4.—Weather stormy; rain and hail. We got under way and traveled twelve miles down the west side of the Blue Mountains, when we struck the Umatilla River. Went three miles down it, and encamped near some Cayuse lodges. Cooper had the fore axletree of his wagon broken off this evening by two Indian bulls charging on the team, and causing them to run around. McDaniel, the driver, shot at one of them with a pistol, wounding him in the mouth.

Thursday, October 5.—Delayed some time in camp this morning in hunting cattle and horses, many of the later having wandered off and the Indian horses being so numerous made it difficult for us to find our own. Started about noon on the trail for Dr. Whitman's. Traveled eight miles and encamped for the night. Sticcas, a very friendly Indian who piloted us across the Blue Mountains, accompanied us to-day and camped with us tonight.

Friday, October 6.—This morning I joined with Otey and Haggard and went on with the carriages to Dr. Whitman's, where we arrived about two o'clock. We purchased one bushel of potatoes and a peck of corn, they having no flour. Traveled on four miles toward Walla Walla. Encamped before night close to the creek, making twenty miles to-day. Weather rainy and misty until evening, when the sun came out.

Saturday, October 7.—Left camp early this morning and followed down the Walla Walla until 3 o'clock, when we encamped for the night. I purchased some roots to-day from an Indian, which they call kamash. It is a small root of oval form and of a dark color, has a very sweet taste. The Indians made bread of it, which is very palatable. A few Cayuse Indians encamped close by us, of whom we purchased

some corn and potatoes, and they in return, stole a tin cup from us. They possess great faculties for business of this sort.

Sunday, October 8.—Left our Cayuse neighbors this morning in good season and started for Fort Walla Walla, where we arrived in three hours. It is situated at the mouth of the Walla Walla River, from which it takes its name. It commands a view of the Columbia River, otherways the prospect is dreary. Above and below are high bluffs, while near to the fort are sand banks not possessing fertility enough to sprout a pea, and in fact this is too much the case with all the far-famed Walla Walla Valley. There are some spots of good soil immediately on the streams, but from Dr. Whitman's to the fort, a distance of twenty-four miles, there is no timber except a little cottonwood, or a species of Balm of Gilead, and at the fort there is not a tree in sight on either side of the Columbia River. If this is a fair specimen of Oregon, it falls far below the conceptions which I formed of the country. At the fort we could procure no eatables. Could only get a little tobacco, and Mr. McKinley, the manager, was loth to part with that, in consequence of its being the Sabbath. The whole country looks poverty stricken. We went two miles below the fort, where we found a little grass and encamped there for the purpose of waiting until Monday to trade.

Monday, October 9.—This morning E. Otey and myself visited the fort. Bought some tobacco and corn and other small articles. Mr. McKinley visited our camp in the afternoon and we traded him the wagon and harness for a horse, concluding to pack from here on. Made some pack rigs today, and made arrangements for packing. Two Indians camped with us all night. Weather fine.

Tuesday, October 10.—Took the wagon to the fort this morning and got the horse which we traded for yesterday. Otey and myself made two pack-saddles. Several Indians encamped with us nearly all day, and one young fellow who camped with us last night seems to be inclined to remain, as

he is yet in camp. Says he is going to the Methodist Mission, which is 120 miles on our route. Our camp is quite a picturesque place. Immediately under the high bluff of the far-famed Columbia, about one-half mile above are two rocks rising 100 feet above the level of the river. They are separated by a small space, and are nearly round, presenting the appearance of two towers. Mr. McKinley informed me that the Indians looked upon them with a great deal of veneration, and say that they are two Indian damsels, petrified. I must confess that their appearance does not correspond very well with the tradition. Some wagons arrive from Dr. Whitman's this evening. Night quite cool.

Wednesday, October 11.—Mr. Haggard went to the fort this morning to do some trading. After he returned, we packed all our effects on two mules and started about eight o'clock. Travel leisurely until evening down the river a distance of twelve miles. The river varies from one-half to one mile in width, has bars in the middle frequently; the water is quite clear and beautiful. High bluffs on both sides, not a tree in sight all day. Found a little green grass where we encamped at night, near Windmill Rock. Our trail leads immediately under the bluffs. Our Indian still remains with us.

Thursday, October 12.—Started in good season, traveled all day over a poor, sandy country. Not a tree in sight all day. Met Mr. McDonald and a small party from Fort Vancouver on his way to Fort Hall. He advises us to be on our guard for the Indians, as there are only three of us, and they are very saucy, having three days ago robbed five men of all they had, at the same time drawing their bows and arrows, and threatening to use them if the men did not give up the property. We traveled at least twenty-five miles to-day and camped a little before sunset, with but little grass for our jaded animals. Our Indian companion, Yeuemah, left us to-day, crossing the river. We passed some rocky rapids to-day in several places, but at our camp the river is beautiful, broad, clear, and placid, but the barrenness of the sur-

rounding country affords but a dreary prospect to a man from the Western States. Were the banks of this noble river studded with fine timber and bordered with anything like good soil, its beauty would be unsurpassed. Weather fine.

Friday, October 13.—Packed up and started about eight o'clock. Traveled down the river over sandy plains. The surrounding country still retains an arid, barren appearance, without timber or grass, but the river in itself is most beautiful. Weather fine. Warm days and cool, moonlight nights. Traveled about twenty miles. Camped early in a little ravine, where there is good grass, and is entirely surrounded by willows, in a quiet retired place, hoping that the Indians will not find us, as their company is anything but agreeable.

Saturday, October 14.—As we anticipated last night, we had an agreeable night's rest in consequence of the Indians not finding us. Started early and traveled until late, probably twenty-five miles, which is a hard day's ride over this country of sand and stone. A Cayuse Indian brought us some salmon which we purchased, giving him in return some powder and ball. Weather fine.

Sunday, October 15.—This morning our Indian paid us another visit. We gave him some breakfast, over which, to our astonishment, he asked a blessing in his own tongue. To-day we traveled leisurely, crossed a small stream, and passed over some very rugged road, the pack trail in some places going along on the steep and almost perpendicular side of the bluffs 100 feet above the Columbia, and the rock rising 100 feet almost hanging over the trail. In fact, it was rather disagreeable riding along in some places to look down. In event of your horse making a mis-step, himself and rider would be thrown down an awful precipice and buried in the gulf below. Such leaps might suit Sam Patch, but the thought of them is enough for me. We found some good grass and camped early. Traveled about sixteen miles. The river maintains its beauty, in some places interrupted by high rocks rising in its center and strong rapids. Saw a few scrubby trees today. Weather beautifully mild and pleasant.

Monday, October 16.—In four miles' travel we struck the Deschutes River. Hired two Indians to conduct us across the ford, which we crossed without difficulty. Just below we passed the Dalles, quite a waterfall on the Columbia. Arrived at the Methodist Mission in the evening.

Tuesday, October 17.—Remained at the Mission all day. Otey and I looked for canoe timber. Weather drizzly.

Wednesday, October 18.—Ground some wheat in the evening. Some five or six arrived from above. I swapped my horse for a Chinook canoe.

Thursday, October 19.—Made some arrangements and started about two o'clock with an Indian pilot. Went five miles and camped. Weather fine.

Friday, October 20.—Paddled down the river all day; scenery wild and romantic. Encamped at night on the north side of the river with some Indians.

Saturday, October 21.—Made an early start with two Indian canoes in company. Arrived at the Cascades about ten o'clock. Spent the balance of the day in making the portage. On each side of the river at the Cascades are high mountains covered with dead timber, killed by a fire.

Sunday, October 22.—Got breakfast and started in good season with our pilot and another young Indian. They ran the rapids, which were rough in consequence of wind, and we walked around. Pulled down the river about eight miles and were obliged to encamp in consequence of headwind, which made rather too much swell for our canoe to ride in safety. We encamped on the north side of the river. The boys killed two pheasants. Weather fine and pleasant.

Monday, October 23.—The wind high this morning from the Southeast. Hoisted a sail on our canoe. We all got out to walk around a point while the Indians should run the canoe through, which they did and landed. The other boys missed the trail and kept back in the bluffs. I came to the canoe and waited for them until nearly sundown. Passed off the time in reading Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor." The wind continued high. I started at an hour

by the sun and ran until some time after dark, when I discovered a fire on the north bank of the river, which the Indians said was "Boston fire," meaning white men. I ran for the fire and fired my pistols, which were soon answered by those at the fire. Upon coming up, I found them to be McDaniel, Haggard, and Otey, who had missed the trail in the morning, and having walked twenty miles, concluded to wait for the canoe.

Tuesday, October 24.—Arrived at the Hudson Bay Company's mill about seven miles above the fort, at twelve o'clock, where we met Waters, Tharp and Marten and Smith, taking up a barge to bring the families down from the Mission. Left the mill and soon arrived at Fort Vancouver, where we found the brigs, Vancouver and Columbia, and also one schooner. We were kindly treated by Dr. McLaughlin, in charge of the fort. Gave us a good dinner and showed us other courtesies. We passed down one mile below the fort and camped for the night.

Wednesday, October 25.—Took the wrong track. Encamped a little above the mouth of the Willamette.

Thursday, October 26.—Met the schooner Pallas. Camped on the north side of the Willamette.

Friday, October 27.—Arrived at Oregon City at the falls of the Willamette.

Saturday, October 28.—Went to work.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF OREGON

Prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Economics and Sociology.

THREE PERIODS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT.

Political organization in what is now the State of Oregon has assumed, in turn, three well developed and quite distinct phases, and there was naturally a characteristic financial system and practice for the support of each. A provisional government antecedent to the territorial organization under the Government of the United States had its initial development early in 1841.¹ A judge with probate powers and the essential ministerial officials for his court were elected at a mass meeting of the settlers in the Willamette Valley. Two years later this nucleus was expanded into a full fledged, though primitive, political organization. As the appointive officials of a typical territorial government did not supersede it until March 3, 1849, this virtually autonomous regime had ample time to exhibit its traits and tendencies. The territorial period was prolonged to a decade, as the act for the admission of Oregon into the Union was passed February 14, 1859.

The Provisional Government was, it is true, weak in resources, transient in purpose, and primitive in its machinery and devices, yet its officials had to exercise about all the

¹ Civil authority was represented in this region still earlier, but it did not have consecutive development. Under the act of Parliament merging the Northwest Company into the Hudson Bay Company officials of the latter under appointment by the Crown exercised powers of justice of peace over British subjects west of the Rocky Mountains; and in 1838 the Methodist Mission, then the main nucleus of American settlement in the Willamette Valley, vested one of their number with legal authority among themselves.

forms of political function—excepting participation in international affairs—that a civilized people depends upon its public agencies to take upon themselves.² We shall see that the exigencies in their situation called into existence, in a more or less inchoate state, a postal department and a bureau of coinage. The judgments of its courts, too, were in all cases final, and it had single handed to meet the test of a war.

The isolation which called for the exercise of sovereign powers by the Provisional Government had its influence upon the scope of public activity—and consequently upon the financial system—in Oregon not only after it attained the status of a Territory, but even after it had become a State. The precipitant movements of population to remoter outlying district under the influence of gold-mining excitement naturally led to clashes with Indian tribes. These disturbances called for the more immediate presence of military force than the distant national authority before the days of telegraphic dispatches could supply. These campaigns by State troops meant peculiar financial burdens and policies characteristic of an isolated community of the Far West. This remoteness during the Civil War period, when the continent had not yet been spanned by the railway, also tended to differentiate financial operations of the Oregon Government during that epoch from those of the typical American commonwealth.

From the nature of its distinctive successive forms of political organizations we have three periods in the financial history of Oregon: The Provisional Government, from 1841 to 1849; the Territorial, from 1849 to 1859; the commonwealth period since. It is to be noted, however, that a close continuity in the spirit and character of its population and

² Among the powers granted to the House of Representatives of the Provisional Government under its organic law of 1845 were the following: "To regulate the intercourse of the people with the Indian tribes, to establish post-offices and post roads, to declare war, suppress insurrection or repel invasion, * * * to regulate the currency and international police of the country."

in economic development that has not yet passed beyond the agricultural stage has tended to make the general features of its policies in respect both to revenue and to expenditure to persist.

I.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

No aspect or topic of the finances of the Provisional Government, so far as the author is aware, has ever been discussed. The bibliography of the subject, therefore, is wholly a matter of the existence and condition of the documents which afford the data. The original documents, including the reports of the treasurers and the auditors and of the committees of ways and means and of appropriations, the messages of the executives and the legislative journals and session laws, are not only not complete in the archives of the State, but they are only slightly segregated and none has been mounted, or bound. Miscellaneous bundles of these original papers have to be searched by any one who wishes to investigate any phase of commonwealth history. This recourse to these original documents is necessary, not only because no printed collection contains all of the documents extant—nor do they all taken together include all of them—but also because of the grave errors which abound in them in printed form.

“*The Oregon Archives*,” compiled by Lafayette Grover and printed in 1853, purports to include “the journals, governors’ messages, and public papers of Oregon from the earliest attempt on the part of the people to form a government, down to, and inclusive of the session of the Territorial Legislature held in the year 1849.” They were collected and published pursuant to an act of the Legislative Assembly, passed January 26, 1853. The collection is but fragmentary. Annual executive messages and portions of journals of legis-

lative sessions were overlooked and reported as not to be found. Laws and reports are mis-dated, and there is no attempt at any arrangement of the laws.

“*Political History of Oregon, Vol. I, Provisional Government,*” by J. Henry Brown, contains most of the executive messages and reports of the treasurers and auditors. Its most important service was to disclose the fact of the *recent* existence of documents that the compiler of “The Oregon Archives” reported as not to be found.

“*The Oregon Spectator,*” a bi-weekly newspaper, first issued February 5, 1846, was, excepting during the last year of the Provisional Government period, the only paper then published in Oregon. It contains some documents and a contemporary discussion of conditions not found elsewhere.

“*History of Oregon,*” by W. H. Gray, a prominent participant in the public affairs of this period, but one with strong and bitter prejudices, is useful for suggesting the issues of the times.

The volumes on Oregon of H. H. Bancroft’s “*History of the Pacific States*” were written with access to all the original material. The emphasis, however, was always on the political rather than the economic aspect of Oregon’s development and contains only casual references to the finances of the Provisional Government.

THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

At the opening of the forties the movements for the occupation of the lower valleys of the Willamette and the Columbia had reached a stage that promised quite immediately the initial steps toward political organization. For nearly a generation the Hudson Bay Company had centered its extensive operations on the Pacific Slope at Fort Vancouver, nearly opposite the mouth of the Willamette. It had maintained a monopoly of the trade of this region, but the head of this post received incoming settlers with marked kindness and hospitality. A community of the Company’s retired trappers, with their native wives, were establishing

farms on French Prairie, some fifty miles up the Willamette Valley. They were still debtors to the Company and were in a quasi-dependent relation as the result of this and former conditions. There were about fifty of these Canadian settlers, thirty of them having families.³ In close proximity there was a Methodist Mission station, connected with which there were some seventy-five people. There were about a score of independent missionaries in the valley. Scattered through the lower valley in possession of the more eligible sites for settlement were some forty-five men, three-fourths of them with Indian wives and half-breed children. Americans of roaming antecedents these were—remnants of the Astor and the Wyeth expeditions, and independent Rocky Mountain trappers and stranded seamen and explorers in whom the attractions of this far Western valley had awakened the spirit of settlement and the desire for a home.⁴

There were thus three rather sharply defined groups on the field when the first occasion for civil organization arose. In a community composed of such contrasted population elements organization would not be spontaneous. Some situation must be developed strongly constraining the establishment of a common authority over them, and its powers would be limited to just what the occasion required. This is what happened in 1841. However, the annual influx of home-seeking pioneers coming across the plains directly from the States soon submerged the earlier unassimilable groups. The first annual wave of this on-coming flood arrived in the fall of 1842 and brought an increase of one hundred and thirty-seven. The next year, 1843, eight hundred and seventy-five came. This was the "great migration," in that it settled definitely the political destiny of the country. The census of 1845 gives a populaion of 2,110 south of the

³ Wilkes' United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, p. 350.

⁴ Cf. Gray's History of Oregon, pp. 191-194.

Columbia. In the fall of that year some three thousand arrived. The Oregon Trail had become a national highway.⁵

In the spring of 1841 before the incongruous groups of fairly proportional strength had been overwhelmed by the plains-crossing pioneer an event took place that brought home to them a realization of their increasingly abnormal situation in being without officials with regularly commissioned public authority. Ewing Young, the wealthiest among the independent settlers, had died, and there were no known natural heirs to his estate. He had accounts, too, with different parties and of considerable size for a community so recently established. The net proceeds of his estate, composed mainly of horses and cattle, would constitute quite a legacy for this remote frontier people. To ward off the strife of anarchy that such a prize as this estate would have engendered all were disposed in the days following the funeral, February 17 and 18, 1841, to go so far toward organization as to appoint the officials necessary to probate this estate of Ewing Young; at the same time the element with strongest penchant for political activity seized the opportunity to secure the appointment of a committee to report on the advisability of organizing a general authority by drafting a constitution and a code of laws, to be submitted with a list of officials to a later meeting—if the committee appointed should agree on recommending organization. Partly because of group rivalries and partly because of the counsel against organization by both Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, and Commodore Wilkes, then in that vicinity with a squadron on an exploring expedition—with both of whom the committee had been instructed to confer—the movement went no further. The “supreme judge with probate powers,” however, proceeded in the fulfillment of his duty and appointed an administrator who took charge of the estate and made it yield a fine fund to be cov-

⁵ The following estimates of the numbers in the annual immigrations subsequent to the year 1843 are given: 1844, 800; 1845, 3,000; 1846, 1,000; 1847, 4,500; 1848, 3,000.

ered into the territorial treasury after a complete organization had been consummated.⁶

THE FIRST FINANCES.

Some two years after the first step had been taken and after the first of the annual migrations across the plains had arrived, the project for organization was revived. It had, however, in the interim been discussed pro and con with little intermission. This time the movement was stimulated to assume active form by the predatory raids of wild animals upon the domestic stock. A "wolf meeting" was held on the first Monday in March, 1843, at which an organization was effected to make war upon animals destructive to their herds and flocks. Bounties were fixed, a treasurer was elected, collectors appointed to receive subscriptions, their commission for collecting funds named, and an auditing committee provided, and a legal tender defined. This was of course only a temporary arrangement for a very restricted purpose, but at this same "wolf meeting" a committee was appointed "to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony."⁷ This committee, at a well-advertised and well-attended meeting on May 2 following, reported in favor of organization and decisive action was taken in the adoption of its report. This meeting further appointed a "legislative committee" to draft a code of laws for the government of the community, to be submitted for ratification to a later meeting on July 5. A full corps of officials, excepting an executive, were elected, but "the old officers" were to remain in office "till the laws are made and accepted, or until the next public meeting." A compensation of \$1.25 per day was voted for the members of the legislative committee entrusted with the work of drafting a constitution, but their session was limited to six days. The money was to be raised by subscription.⁸ As the

6 Brown's History of the Provisional Government, p. 85, and Archives MSS.

7 Oregon Archives, pp. 9-11.

8 Oregon Archives, pp. 14 and 15.

individual members of this committee subscribed on the spot sums equal to their compensation and as entertainment and a meeting place were offered free,⁹ and no other salaries fixed, the financial obligations were for the time met.

The provisions of the organic law adopted at the meeting on July 5 that related to finances made voluntary contributions the sole reliance for securing general funds for the support of the newly established government. Fees were fixed for special services performed by the territorial recorder and the treasurer, and the officers of the judiciary should receive a dollar for every marriage service that they might be called on to perform.¹⁰

The executive committee (for the tripartite makeup of the community was still in evidence in the election of a plural executive—an executive committee of three) in its message to the Legislature at its first annual meeting recommended that “it take into consideration the propriety of laying a light tax for the support of government.”¹¹ The committee of ways and means of the Legislature, after hearing the report of the treasurer who had been financing the government for a year with a subscription paper, was not slow in bringing in bills for raising revenue by taxation, for fixing salaries and for making appropriations to pay them.¹²

Before tracing the development of the finances of this government on their new basis of taxation it will be in order to take note of some available resources for public expenditures which were naturally very convenient while an income from taxes was being developed.

THE ESCHEAT FUNDS FROM THE ESTATE OF EWING YOUNG.

In a message to the Legislature at an adjourned meeting in December of the same year (1844) the executive committee reported that it had “in possession, notes given by dif-

9 J. Quin Thornton's *History of the Provisional Government*, p. 62, in *Proceedings of the Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1875.

10 Oregon Archives, pp. 27 and 30, and see Appendix to this paper, Document A.

11 Archives MS. and Brown's *History of Provisional Government*, p. 131.

12 See Appendix, Document B.

ferent individuals residing in the country, amounting to \$3,734.26, most of which are already due. These notes are a balance in favor of the estate of Ewing Young." Having apprized the Legislature of the existence of available funds it reiterates a suggestion as to "the expediency of making provision for the erection of a jail in this country."¹³ The Legislature responded to the suggestion of the executive by directing it to appoint an administrator "to close up and collect the debts due to the estate" and turn the receipts into the treasury. It was then instructed to arrange for the building of a "substantial log jail," appropriating \$1,500 from the moneys received from the proceeds of said estate for its construction.¹⁴ This jail was the only public building secured by the Provisional Government.

Some two years were consumed in arriving at settlements of the accounts of the estate of Young. During part of the time at least the estate had been leased, but on June 13, 1843, the property, consisting mainly of horses and cattle, was closed out at a public sale. Some \$4,000 were realized as the total of the sales, which were settled mainly with promissory notes.¹⁵ It was these the administrator was to collect to provide funds for building the jail.

The territorial treasurers for some years enter the sum received from this source as a liability along with scrip or warrants outstanding. After the year 1846, however, it seems to have been regarded as a permanent possession.¹⁶ Compared with the revenues from all other sources at this time this escheat fund was large. And when at the June session, 1845, the Legislature was considering the advisability of erecting more public buildings, with the proceeds of this estate, it received a petition having thirty-nine signers asking for the repeal of the act applying a part of the proceeds of the estate. The petitioners feared the Government

¹³ Oregon Archives, pp. 57-8.

¹⁴ Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 68, and Laws, p. 94.

¹⁵ Archives MS.

¹⁶ Appendix, Documents P, Q, and R.

would become too much involved. Demands for the estate would be likely to be made at an early date. They would call for payment in specie, a sufficient sum of which was not in the country, so they were apprehensive, as they expressed it, that "a sacrifice of our property must ensue."¹⁷

When a portion of the proceeds of the Young estate were utilized for securing a jail the faith of the Government was pledged for the repayment of all moneys of said estate to lawful claimants. After about ten years an heir-at-law appeared who was permitted to bring suit to recover all sums paid into the treasury from the estate with interest at six per cent. He received judgment for \$4,994.64 and \$44.80 for costs. Having, however, assigned his rights to a lawyer who had enemies in the Legislature the payment of the claim was suspended and made subject to the will of the Legislature. Under an act of the State Legislature providing for the adjudication and payment of all claims against the territorial government the assignee brought suit and in November, 1863, received \$5,108.94 in settlement of Oregon's account with this estate.¹⁸

CURRENCY AND LEGAL TENDER UNDER THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

In their primitiveness, crudeness, and simplicity conditions were arcadian in this Oregon community. No machinery to speak of, but only the absolute necessities of existence, could be transported in wagons across a two-thousand-mile stretch of desert and mountains. What money they had did not suffice to secure most meager equipment for their farms in the wilderness. Their experiences, with respect to a circulating medium and a legal tender were, therefore, much the same as those of the Atlantic Coast colonists of the middle of the seventeenth century. Principles and processes of credit were, however, brought into requisition with a thor-

¹⁷ Archives MS.

¹⁸ Archives MSS.; Special Laws, 1855-6, p. 92; General Laws, 1862, p. 78; Messages and Documents, 1864, p. 72; Oregon Statesman, January 2, 1855; Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 152.

oughly nineteenth-century facility. At the "wolf meeting" on the first Monday in March, 1843, it was resolved, "That drafts on Fort Vancouver, the Mission, and the Milling Company, be received on subscriptions [towards making up a scalp bounty fund] as payment."¹⁹ At the great public sale of the property of the Ewing Young estate, about two months later, the settlements were almost altogether by means of personal notes.²⁰ The great scarcity of specie is in evidence in the petition against the Government's using the escheat funds of the Young estate and thereby making itself liable to a large specie payment on demand.²¹

As late as 1846 trade was carried on almost exclusively through an interchange of commodities, money figuring only in the accounts. The Legislature went so far as to enact on August 19, 1845, that "available orders, wheat, hides, tallow, beef, pork, butter, lard, peas, lumber, or other articles of export of this territory" shall "at their current value" "be a lawful tender in payment of all demands in this territory, where no special contract had been made between the parties;" "Provided, the same be delivered at such points on the navigable streams, or such other places as may be established as depots of such articles." This act passed on the next to the last day of the session did not receive the approval of the Governor.²² There was also an attempt in the Legislature about this time to make "wheat and peltries" a legal tender.²³

The Governor in his message to the Legislature at its next meeting in December of the same year defines his position on the legal tender question and states his reasons for withholding his approval from the radical measure of the preceding session. He says:²⁴ "That a legal tender should be provided for the payment of all liabilities beside gold and silver, we

¹⁹ Archives MS.; Oregon Archives, p. 11.

²⁰ Archives MS.

²¹ See *Supra*, p. 8.

²² Brown's History of Provisional Government, p. 173.

²³ Archives MS.

²⁴ Archives MS.

are all well aware. The precious metals are very scarce in this country and by most persons not to be had. What shall be the legal tender is an important question for you to decide. If all the articles produced, raised, and manufactured in this country are made legal tender, no person will sell anything he has to dispose of unless there is a special contract drawn up designating how and in what manner the seller is to receive his pay, this will cause much inconvenience to both parties. Wheat in my opinion should be the only article used in this country as a legal tender in addition to gold and silver, it is at present the staple article of our country, can be procured by all the settlers in abundance, can be readily disposed of by the merchants and others, and is not a perishable article." The fundamental legal tender act of early Oregon was passed at this session. It provided that, "in addition to gold and silver, treasury drafts, approved orders on solvent merchants, and good merchantable wheat at the market price, delivered at such places as is customary for merchants to receive wheat at, shall be a lawful tender for the payment of taxes and judgments rendered in the courts of Oregon Territory, where no special contracts have been made to the contrary." Treasury certificates or scrip were already receivable for dues to the Government. These remained throughout the period of the Provisional Government a legal tender for all dues to or from the Government.

After two years (December, 1847) so much of the general legal tender act as made orders on solvent merchants, wheat, and treasury drafts a lawful tender in payment of judgments was repealed.²⁵ The Governor was still favorable to the retention of wheat as a legal tender but the Legislature excluded it.²⁶ The form of the legal tender legislation made it apply directly only to judgments and not to original transactions of trade. This had its shortcomings in actual busi-

²⁵ Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 24.

²⁶ Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 208.

ness affairs. Merchants did not honor even their own orders, for merchandise like salt was imperishable and always in demand.²⁷

There is evidence to show that this unique legal tender legislation and particularly the special form it took was as much due to the general indebtedness of the people to their few merchants as it was to the scarcity of specie. The Legislature "fearing a general effort to force payment would be made by the merchants, and knowing there was not a sufficiency of the precious metals to pay the debts of the country, thought it their duty to do something to save the debtor from a ruinous sacrifice of property."²⁸ A correspondent to "The Spectator" estimated the number indebted to the Hudson Bay Company at this time as three thousand, and the number owing Dr. John McLoughlin—now retired from the Company and in business independently—as one thousand, while five hundred had not yet closed their accounts with the Methodist Mission.²⁹

Treasury scrip was gradually shaped into a fiat currency and must have largely superseded the merchants' orders. The Legislature by an act passed December, 1847, made it the duty of the Territorial Treasurer to exchange scrip of large denominations for the same amount—interest added—of smaller denominations.³⁰ In February, 1849—one of the last acts of the Legislature of the Provisional Government—scrip was adapted still more closely to the purposes of a circulating medium by a law requiring that all scrip issued in payment of interest, when scrip of larger denominations was presented for exchange into smaller denominations, should be non-interest bearing.³¹ Still further to facilitate the use of scrip as the circulating medium the Treasurer was authorized to exchange or redeem all genuine or properly

²⁷ Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, pp. 14-15.

²⁸ The Spectator, May 14, 1846.

²⁹ The Spectator, May 28, 1846.

³⁰ Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 11.

³¹ Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 67.

attested scrip whether properly negotiated or not.³² It was not engraved and was depreciating and so must have constituted a currency far from the ideal.³³ Yet it is not unhallowed in the memories of the pioneers³⁴ and though the volume outstanding when the territorial officials from the Government at Washington took hold of the reins of authority was never redeemed it did not furnish a new by-word for the utterly worthless.

The distribution of a barrel of silver dollars received at Vancouver, to be paid in monthly sums to the crew of the British man-of-war *Modeste* in the summer of 1846, was counted as an epoch in the early monetary history of Oregon. As such it only proves the exceeding scarcity of specie.³⁵ Conditions as to the supply of it were to suffer a more violent change in Oregon in the closing years of the first half of the nineteenth century than they did in the world at large in the last few years of the last half. The news of the discovery of gold in California reached Oregon in the summer months of 1848. During the next few months probably two-thirds of the young and middle-aged men of Oregon went to the mines.³⁶ A large proportion of these returned within a year well laden with gold dust. Those who had remained at home were doing almost if not quite as

32 Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 64.

33 The Spectator, Septemeber 2, 1846: Wm. Holmes, sheriff and ex-officio tax collector for Clackamas County, says: "There is much difficulty and vexation attending the collection of revenue none can for a moment doubt; business being transacted in Oregon principally upon the scrip and order currency." The Spectator, October 15, 1846, contains the following notice: "Whereas, several subscribers to the 'Oregon Spectator' have proffered pay for the paper in Oregon Scrip, which will not meet the liabilities of the Board, therefore, Resolved, that hereafter all persons subscribers to the 'Oregon Spectator,' be hereby informed that Oregon Scrip will not be received in payment for the paper."

34 Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 535, and Vol. II, p. 74. The Legislature of Oregon in 1862 provided for the auditing of the civil claims created under the Provisional Government for registering the claims of the scrip holders. A report made in 1864 shows that claims to the amount of \$4,574.02 only had been proven. The report includes claims of only five persons.

35 Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, pp. 14-15.

36 Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, pp. 42, et seq., and Burnett's Recollections of an Old Pioneer.

well financially because of the high prices that lumber and all products of the farm, needed in California, brought. The people of Oregon were thus supplied abundantly with a money metal. But it was in the form of dust. In this state it was not only inconvenient to handle, but the farmers were being imposed upon in traffic in which it was used as the medium of exchange. Early in 1849 at least two petitions, with numerous signatures, were presented to the Legislature asking for its coinage.³⁷ One of these petitions gave as reasons for urging this step the fact that there were "vast quantities of gold dust in a manner useless and dead to the community" which must either sell it at a great discount or not sell it at all, and the farmers found it inconvenient and difficult to trade with the article, as but few were provided with scales. Another petition spoke of the "combined monopolizers of the wheat and gold dust trade." A "sure method of curing disease," it said, "is to remove the cause, the cause being scarcity of coined money in the hands of the people, establish a mint for the coinage of gold equal in fineness to the gold coin of the United States and place such safeguards and restrictions around it as they in their wisdom may think necessary."

A bill providing for the establishment of a mint was immediately prepared and passed on February 15, 1849. It received the approval of the Governor the following day.³⁸ Two members opposed the measure and had their protests entered on the journal. Both speak of it as in violation of the constitution of the United States and that officials would soon be at hand who would be obliged to prohibit its operations. It would thus involve a public expenditure to no purpose. One of the protesters, however, was opposed to it on the ground that it would be "making the territory a shaving machine by only allowing sixteen dollars and fifty cents per ounce."³⁹ In the act itself the reasons given for

37 Archives MSS.

38 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 310, and Laws, p. 58.

39 Oregon Archives, pp. 311 and 315.

the step were "the spurious and impure metals" that were being mixed with the gold "brought to and bartered in" the territory as well as the "great irregularities in the scales and weights used in dealing" with it from which great impositions were practiced upon the farmers, merchants and community generally. The director of this Oregon mint, appointed under this act, had little time for getting it into operation, as the Territorial Governor, General Joseph Lane, appointed in pursuance of the act of Congress of August 12, 1848, arrived on the scene March 3, and notified him that he would have to arrest its operations.⁴⁰ The director petitioned the first Legislature under the territorial organization for an appropriation of \$250 to pay the debt contracted on behalf of the Provisional Government for materials, and other expenses incurred, before being ordered to desist by a representative of the National Government.⁴¹

The monetary situation was relieved through the organization of a partnership known as the Oregon Exchange Company, that made five-dollar and ten-dollar pieces. Some \$30,000 of the former and \$28,500 of the latter were put in circulation. They were later bought up by the United States mint at San Francisco at a premium, as they contained more gold than the national coins of the same denominations.⁴²

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ORGANIZATION.

A more satisfactory view of the financial affairs of the Oregon community under its Provisional Government will be had after having in mind a general idea of the distribution of the settlements and their political characteristics and organization. The economic condition of these stock-raisers and grain-growers has probably been adequately brought out in the discussion of their currency. On this score they had little that worried them, situated as they

⁴⁰ Archives MS.

⁴¹ Archives MS.

⁴² Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, pp. 52-5.

were in a valley affording a more than ample expanse of prairie and woodland, well distributed, and in a climate free from extremes, and that made the soil, with little cultivation, yield bountifully. The only hostile tribes of natives that much needed to be feared lived beyond the mountains to the south and to the east. Their problem connected with defense against these will be discussed in connection with public expenditures for a military establishment.

Turning then to the composition of this Oregon community, it is to be noted that in the spring of 1841 there were three distinct groups of settlers: First, there were the officers and servants of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, and still more or less bound to the Company were the retired servants with their native wives and families on French Prairie fifty miles up the Willamette; secondly, we have the Methodist Mission group, with the main station some twenty miles beyond the Canadian settlement—there might be mentioned along with these a small number of independent missionaries as having the same civic point of view but unconnected with the quasi-civil organization of the Methodists; thirdly, there were the American settlers who had come separately, or in very small bands, from far and wide. Fewer in numbers than either of the other groups and without organization, they were probably equal in influence because of greater individual force and political facility.

The incipient movements toward organization were not participated in by the Fort people and their ex-servants, but consistently discouraged, fearing no doubt that if a government was set up it would interfere with their British allegiance and organization.

When organization was effected in 1843, the Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley acquiesced, as they had the recognition of their land claims at stake, but the officials of the Fur Company and all British residents north of the Columbia failed to respond. The Legislature during its first session, in June, 1843, retaliated by passing an act having for its intention the exclusion of the Hudson Bay

Company people north of the Columbia from participation in the benefits of the organization.⁴³ This act "striking off parts of counties lying north of the Columbia River" was, however, susceptible of another interpretation. Some insisted that it abandoned the country north of the Columbia to the British Government. Any such admission, even by implication, would not do. So the Legislature in December passed an explanatory act defining the scope of Oregon as lying between latitudes 42 deg. and 54 deg. 40 min. north and extending from the Rocky Mountains to the sea.⁴⁴

A more conciliatory spirit prevailed in the Legislature of 1845. The oath of allegiance was so changed as to recognize a superior allegiance to Great Britain or to the United States,⁴⁵ and a committee of the Legislature made overtures to the officials of the Fur Company. The question of their becoming "parties to the articles of compact" turned on the payment of taxes by them, and in other respects complying with the laws of the Provisional Government. This was put to them by this committee during the August session of 1845. The response was in the affirmative, provided they were called upon to pay taxes only on their sales to settlers.⁴⁶ Thus the Provisional Government became an imperium in the inclusiveness of its jurisdiction if not in the scope of its powers.

The Oregon region was divided into four districts—a term used at first instead of county. Two of these districts lay on the west side of the Willamette so far as defined, and two on the east side. The boundary line between the north and the south sets ran some fifteen miles south of Oregon City, situated at the falls of the Willamette.⁴⁷ This was the most considerable town during this period and remained the capital. The census taken in 1845 gave the population south

43 Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 74.

44 Oregon Archives, Laws, pp. 72-3.

45 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 71.

46 Archives MSS., and Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, pp. 435-6.

47 Oregon Archives, p. 26.

of the Columbia as 2,110,⁴⁸ though it is claimed that it was taken under conditions that made it impossible to be complete and that the number of people in the colony was 4,000.⁴⁹ A small group of settlers south of the mouth of the Columbia had been set off as a new district (Clatsop), making now five in all. The Americans had also in 1845 made a start at settlement north of the Columbia. There was a little community in the Cowlitz Valley and another on the Sound. And by the close of this year the Legislature had organized two counties (Lewis and Vancouver) on that side of the river. The word "county" was at this time substituted for "district" in all the laws where it occurred. At the close of the period of the Provisional Government there were nine counties and a count taken in 1849, after the great exodus to California, gave 8,390 as the population. Normally there were probably between 10,000 and 12,000 people in Oregon. These had occupied the more desirable portions of the valley, reaching to the foothills at Pleasant Hill at the head of it, nearly 150 miles from the mouth of the Willamette.

Until after 1845 the territorial assessment was made directly by a territorial assessor and the revenues were collected by the territorial marshal or sheriff. From that time on the county assessors and county sheriffs were entrusted with these duties. Up to 1844 the mass or primary meeting had been used for the nomination and election of all officers and the approval of organic laws. The convention of delegates for making nominations and the ballot boxes in the different counties for ratifications were the rule from that time on.

It is seen thus that the political organization was in flux until after the adoption of the organic law on July 26, 1845. This was virtually the third constitution of this little community. Under that adopted by the folk moot of July 5, 1843, Oregon was a pure democracy with the missionary ele-

⁴⁸ Archives MS.

⁴⁹ White's Ten Years in Oregon, p. 225.

ment in the ascendancy. Then came the great immigration of the fall of that year with numbers and strength of leadership that crowded the earlier elements to the background. They were in great majority in the Legislature of 1844 and treated the organic law adopted before their coming very lightly. This body virtually made and adopted without submission to the people a new constitution. It repudiated the term "territory," excluded the British subjects from the compact and carried the air of representatives of a community aiming at independence and sovereignty. The Legislature that assembled in June, 1845, in drawing up a new organic law that it submitted to the people for ratification and in taking steps to fuse the British with the American elements of the population and in expressing in the organic laws their purpose as a transient one, again changed the essential character of the organization and that which it received this time it retained until superseded as a provisional government.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

A small community dwelling in a wilderness, and separated by a two-thousand-mile stretch of it from their kin and the nearest people who would have any disposition to come to their aid, would naturally be supposed to make the means of defense their chief concern and the support of these establishments the chief item in their budget. But the native tribes of the Willamette and the lower Columbia had suffered repeated visitations of a very destructive pestilence. This had made room for a white settlement without any necessary intrenchment upon the possessions of others. The Oregon colony stood in little fear of awakening the resentment of any in their immediate vicinity who might become a dangerous foe. However, in the distant valleys of Southern Oregon and on the Upper Columbia, east of the Cascade Mountains, there were—as we shall see—strong tribes who, when aroused by the increasing annual cavalcades traversing their domains to a sense of apprehension as

to their future, caused the Oregonians trouble and expense enough. When this trouble did come in the Cayuse war, beginning in the last month of 1847, the Oregon Legislature planned to keep the finances for it separate from their regular system, and succeeded in so maintaining them.

From the beginning there was an organization of volunteers under public authority, but it did not receive financial support. From the autumn of 1842 until the summer of 1845 there was among them a "sub-Indian agent," commissioned by the National Government, who was recognized as the mediator in all affairs between the colonists and the Indians. When he returned East a small appropriation was made for the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs.⁵⁰ For a few years the Governor was elected to this office, and in his annual messages he reports the growing discontent of the natives as they see their lands monopolized by the settlers and even the bounds of their villages invaded. The Indians were put off with promises that a great chief would come from Washington with blankets to pay them for their lands.⁵¹

The desire for land constituted the strongest motive for the transcontinental migration of the Oregon pioneer. The immigrants were almost solely farmers. Legislation affecting the conditions of acquiring land and securing titles to it was second to none in the interest it aroused. The recorder of claims who remained a territorial official during this period was an important administrative official. While his compensation was mainly in fees, his salary was a regular item in the budget.

The matter of locating the highways also took considerable of the time of the Legislatures. There were no national surveys so that the roads could by a general act be located on the section lines as was commonly done in the Mississippi Valley. As the settlers regularly claimed 640 acres they were widely scattered and there were long lines of

⁵⁰ Statistical Abstract, No. 5.

⁵¹ See Annual Messages of Governors in Oregon Archives and Archives MSS.

travel to mark out. No road building, however, was undertaken by the territorial government during this period. It was only in the expense incurred in special road legislation that there was any public burden involved.

Western Oregon is a well-watered country with numerous considerable streams. The Provisional Government period was before the day of bridges, so the licensing of ferries and fixing of tolls was an important line of legislation. Ferry licenses were among the most certain sources of territorial revenues.⁵²

As those who exercised authority under the Provisional Government were always conscious that it was simply tiding over a temporary need, they desisted from activity in providing public buildings except where exigencies seemed to compel action. They built a jail out of moneys that escheated to the Government. This building was burned within about a year from the time of its completion and from that time on (August 18, 1846) they made shift to get along without any public building whatever.⁵³

Although the Governor regularly called the attention of the Legislatures to the advisability of provision for education, no Legislature saw its way clear to do more than to charter private schools. There was a single appropriation for the care of the insane. The records seem to indicate that it was applied for the care of a single person.⁵⁴

The administration of a postal department was tried for a year, but the rates of postage on letters was fixed so high that they were sent by private conveyance and the "postmaster general" at the end of the third quarter of the first year stopped sending the mail. An appropriation was made to take care of the deficiency and the department was abolished.⁵⁵

A matter of vital importance to the community was the

⁵² See Appendix, Documents.

⁵³ Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 94, and Journals, pp. 162 and 208.

⁵⁴ Oregon Archives, Governor's Messages, and Archives MSS.

⁵⁵ Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 159.

frequent coming of vessels to the Columbia and the Willamette to bid for their surplus products. The awful experience of the Tonquin in entering the mouth of the Columbia had been widely advertised in Irving's "Astoria," and several vessels had more recently been wrecked there, notably one belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, and another belonging to Commodore Wilkes' squadron. A pilot was needed.⁵⁶ In 1846 a licensed pilotage was established and two years later the commissioners of pilotage received an appropriation.⁵⁷

The manufacture, introduction or sale of ardent spirits was first tabooed under public opinion and then prohibited by law until 1846. From that time the license fees from the sale of them figure prominently among the revenue items.⁵⁸ In 1846 it was again the express declaration of the people that the sale of them should be prohibited, but the Legislature went no further than to make the law more stringent against sales to Indians. No other subject had a larger share of the attention of the Legislature.

The radical character of the legislation in the matter of the currency and the legal tender has already been noticed. The classes of expenditures that comprise four-fifths of the whole,⁵⁹ the line of legislation that monopolizes the major portion of the compilation of its laws and a review of the leading activities of the officials of the Provisional Government—all show that the main function served by it was that of representing the agency and symbol of social control. It existed mainly to promulgate the inherited standards of right and justice as to person and property adapted to and applied to conditions as they were found in this frontier community. Either because the self-control and peaceable dispositions of the individuals were so well developed or because public opinion was so effective, the mediation of the

56 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 161.

57 Archives MS., and Statistical Abstract 5.

58 See Appendix, Documents.

59 Appendix, Statistical Abstract 5.

agencies of the Government was not often called into requisition. When they did intercede their acts seem to have commended themselves in a high degree to the common sense of what was right.⁶⁰

PUBLIC REVENUES.

Voluntary contributions were the sole reliance for the support of the Provisional Government during the first year of its existence. But the Legislature of 1844, composed mainly of new-comers with whom tax-paying was still a habit, had no faith in subscription-paper financiering. They did not let the omission of the power of taxation from among the enumerated powers in the organic law of 1843 deter them. A bill to levy a tax of one-eighth of one per cent of the value of about all kinds of property, except farms and the produce of the fields, was passed during the first week of their session, June 25, 1844.⁶¹ Two days later an act was passed providing for the appointment of a territorial assessor and arranging for his proceeding to make the assessment for the levy almost immediately.⁶² The assessor and the collector were necessarily territorial officers until the provision for the election of county assessors in the general revenue law of December, 1845.⁶³

But the right to exercise of the power of levying on private property for the support of a government was not to go unchallenged. At the time the committee of ways and means reported the first measure enacted for levying a tax there was a minority report recommending that no other than a poll tax of one dollar be laid upon every male inhabitant of the age of twenty-one and upward, except

60 Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, pp. 444-5, and Archives MS. of Governor Abernethy's Message to the Legislature, August 5, 1845. To curtail expenditures for the judiciary he recommended that "all debts or notes taken for debts except where fraud is alleged (be prevented) from being collected by judicial process."

61 Appendix, Document B.

62 Archives MS.

63 Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1846.

negroes and Indians.⁶⁴ A year later there was a protest entered upon the journal of the Legislature denying its right to levy a tax of any kind "without the consent of the free voters of the territory previously obtained." This position was taken on the ground that the people on the day they resolved on organization (May 2, 1843), had voted that no tax should be levied and that they had confirmed this vote in adopting the subscription basis for their finances on the 5th of July following.⁶⁵

While the majority of the Legislature went ahead resolutely completing the new basis for the public revenues of the colony several provisions in the measures they enacted indicate that they expected opposition to the taxes they were imposing. Their law providing for the appointment of the assessor made it his duty "to take every man's name who shall refuse to pay a tax and return the list of all such persons refusing to the clerk and recorder, whose duty it shall be to preserve the same."⁶⁶ Section 4 of the revenue law provided "that any person refusing to pay a tax as in this act required shall have no benefit of the laws of Oregon and shall be disqualified from voting at any election in this country."⁶⁷ The collector's report for the same year refers to "the unsettled state of the public mind relative to the subject of taxation."

The revenue system of the Provisional Government was fully developed through the act of December 11, 1845.⁶⁸ It retained the features given it by this act until 1854. The ideas embodied in the act of 1844 were adhered to. They were only brought out more explicitly and more in detail. The machinery for administering the system was developed by bringing into requisition the county assessors and the county sheriffs for collectors. The rate was doubled, making

64 Archives MS.

65 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 80.

66 Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 92.

67 Appendix, Document B.

68 Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1846.

it one-fourth of one per cent for territorial purposes; and such rate for the county purposes, not to exceed the territorial levy, as the county courts should decree. The kinds of property taxed included: "Town lots and improvements (farms excepted), carriages, mills, clocks, and watches, horses and mules, cattle, sheep and hogs. Every qualified voter under sixty years of age must pay a poll tax of fifty cents." Merchants' licenses were classified as follows: With capital employed under \$10,000, a tax of \$20 was imposed; with capital employed over \$10,000, a tax of \$30 was imposed; with capital employed over \$15,000, a tax of \$45 was imposed; with capital employed over \$20,000, a tax of \$60 was imposed. Auctioneers' and peddlers' licenses were taxed \$10 each; upon ferry licenses the tax ranged from \$5 to \$25 at the discretion of the county court. There was paid into the county treasury for hearing and deciding each petition of a public nature, \$1; for hearing and determining each motion of counsel, \$1; for each final judgment, \$3; for allowing an appeal, \$1. The taxes not paid on or before the first Monday in October in each year should be collected the same as debts due on execution. The law subjecting property to execution, however, provided that "no property of any description whatever, shall be sold on execution, or by virtue of any other process issued by any officer, for less than two-thirds of its value at the time of such sale, after deducting all encumbrances."⁶⁹

The holder of any lawfully attested draft or scrip, in his own name, of a larger amount than his tax, could have it exchanged for two or more drafts, making together the same amount as the original, one being of the same amount as his tax to be applied in payment of it. As wheat was a legal tender at this time it was necessary to name the places in the several counties where it must be delivered when offered in payment of taxes. These were "depots for receiving the public revenues" and the person in charge of each was

⁶⁹ Oregon Spectator, February 19, 1846, and Oregon Archives, p. 33.

considered a receiver of the revenue who was to give a receipt of a prescribed form to each person at the time of his paying his taxes. This receiver was to be given by the collector a transcript of the assessment roll for the county.⁷⁰ Orders on solvent merchants were also received for public dues and it sometimes happened that the drawee neglected or refused to pay, causing trouble and delay.⁷¹

The increasing volume of scrip outstanding and its rapid depreciation toward the end of this period naturally resulted in its being presented more largely for taxes, for which it would be received without discount. But aside from instances where the Government had liabilities to a party outside its jurisdiction the embarrassment this state of things brought about is not much advertised.⁷²

The kinds of property selected as subjects of taxation exhibit a conspicuous departure from the benefit theory of taxation. The original property tax in Oregon was thoroughly unique in exempting farms, farm improvements and the products of the fields while subjecting "town lots and improvements" and the live stock of the farm to territorial and county taxes. The statutes did not make farm lands taxable in Oregon until 1854, and even then the practice of taxing farm lands was resisted.

One of the main purposes to be served by the Provisional Government was that of perfecting the titles of land claims—or at least, protecting the occupants in their claims. Surely, the value of farm property was as much enhanced through the protection afforded by this government as the value of any other. It can hardly be said that land escaped the burden of taxation because titles to it before 1846 were in suspense, and after the treaty they were vested in the National Government, for the titles to city lots were under the same hazards and city lots were taxed. There is in the making of city lots and the mercantile business the most

70 Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1846, and Oregon Archives, p. 27.

71. See Appendix, Document C, and Oregon Spectator, September 2, 1847.

72 Appendix, Documents L and M.

conspicuous subjects of taxation a suggestion of a levy of tribute upon those who had pre-empted the most available sites of trade centers and upon those who had advantages of considerable monopoly in business. The plains-crossing pioneer from the Middle West was in great majority and he took to the farm. Those who came by sea were from the Middle States and New England, and more largely took to trade. So did a number who had disconnected themselves from the Fur Company. Class interests may have been more or less consciously a determining factor in the selection of the subjects of taxation. Nevertheless, the exemption of farm lands and improvements from taxation was salutary whether emanating from the highest motives or not. Under the conditions then existing nothing needed subsidizing more than the taking and improving claims. There was consistency in subjecting those who merely filed on claims and then left them to a heavy fine in the form of an absentee tax.⁷³ The immediate co-operation of all in the creation of social advantages, best accomplished through farm improvement and cultivation, was the great desideratum. Only when land of the best quality has all been taken up is any emphasis upon a land tax in place.⁷⁴

While the general revenue law made the taxes delinquent on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in October and ordered the collectors to proceed to collect them the same as debts due on execution, the reports show that as a rule the taxes were not in great part paid in until several months later. The collector for 1844 did not report his collections until August of the following year. The time for the collection of the taxes of 1845 was extended until the last Saturday

73 See Appendix, Documents K, M, R, and T.

74 Governor Abernethy, in a message, August 5, 1845, recommended, "as one means of increasing revenue that improved farms be taxed in proportion to value of improvements; at present the farmer who depends principally on his stock as a means of subsistence is taxed, while the producer pays nothing into the treasury. There is no doubt but that this tax will be cheerfully paid by the farmer if the appropriations are made for the general welfare. Perhaps this may be found sufficient to meet necessary expenses without increasing the percentage."

in May of 1846, and for 1847 date was the first of June, 1848.⁷⁵ There naturally was a corresponding dilatoriness in making appropriations for public services and even greater in the matter of payments.⁷⁶

TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

The exact copies of the financial documents of this period appended to this paper are referred to for illustrations of the methods of business and accounting in the territorial treasury. The discrepancies between the "balance in the treasury" or the "amount due treasurer" of one report and the "amount received from former treasurer" or "amount paid former treasurer," respectively, of the succeeding report are tantalizing.⁷⁷ The existence of these discrepancies can be accounted for on the supposition that when making his report the treasurer had not drawn his commissions for the performance of the duties of his office. It is significant that in the one instance in which we have a statement showing the treasurer's account with the territory for his commissions balanced in that instance the "balance in the treasury" and the amount received from him by the succeeding treasurer do correspond.⁷⁸ Furthermore, where the statement of the account of the treasurer with the territory for his commissions is not extant the data in the reports do not suffice for reproducing these accounts. We have no complete accounts of scrip exchanged, nor of scrip issued and paid, for which transactions the treasurers were entitled to commissions.⁷⁹

75 Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1846; Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 96; Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1846; Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 54.

76 Appropriation Bills, Archives MSS.

77 See Appendix, Documents G and J; J and K.

78 See Appendix, Documents P and R.

79 See Appendix, Statistical Abstract 2 and Document R.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS.

DOCUMENT A.

1.

Report of the Legislative Committee upon Ways and Means.¹

The Legislative committee report that a subscription paper as follows, be put into circulation to collect funds for defraying the expenses of the government.

We, the subscribers, pledge ourselves to pay, annually, to the treasurer of Oregon Territory the sums affixed to our respective names for the purpose of defraying the expenses of government—Provided, that, in all cases, each individual subscriber may, at any time, withdraw his name from said subscription upon paying up all arrearages and notifying the treasurer of the colony, of such desire to withdraw.

Approved by the people, July 5th, 1843.

2.

Report of the Legislative Committee upon the Judiciary.²

Article 9. There shall be a treasurer elected by the qualified electors of the territory, who shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, give bond to the executive committee, in the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, with two or more sufficient securities, to be approved by the executive committee, conditioned for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office. The treasurer shall receive all monies belonging to the territory, that may be raised by contribution, or otherwise, and shall procure suitable books in which he shall enter an account of his receipts and disbursements.

Art. 10. The treasurer shall in no case pay money out of the treasury, but according to law, and shall annually report to the legislative committee, a true account of his receipts and disbursements, with necessary vouchers for the same, and shall deliver to his successor in office, all books, money, accounts, or other property, belonging to the territory, so soon as his successor shall become qualified.

Art. 11. The treasurer shall receive for his services the sum of five per cent. of all moneys received and paid out, according to law, and three per cent. of all moneys in the treasury when he goes out of office, and two per cent. upon the disbursements of money in the treasury when he comes into office.

Approved by the people, July 5th, 1843.

1 Oregon Archives, p. 27.

2 Oregon Archives, p. 30.

DOCUMENT B.

A Bill to provid[e] for Ways and Means.¹

Sect. 1st. Be it enacted by the Legislative Committee of Oregon as follows That in order to raise a revenue for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the government there shall be levied and collected a tax of one eighth of one per cent upon the following property at a fair valuation, to wit, all merchandise brought into this country for sale, Improvements on town lots, Mills, Pleasure Carriages, Clocks, Watches, Horses, Mules, Cattle, and Hogs.

Sect. 2 All male citizens over the age of twenty-one years being a de[s]cendant of a white man shall be subject to pay a poll tax of fifty cents.

Sect 3 That it shall be the duty of the collector of revenue, to require of each and every merchant in Oregon to give him a statement in writing of the amount of all merchandise on hand to be stated on oath or affirmation which oath or affirmation the collector shall administer, and said collector shall collect and receipt for the tax upon such merchandise, which receipt shall serve said merchant for a license for next year commencing from the time given. And that when a merchant shall wish to renew his license he shall give a similar statement of all merchandise rec'd by him for sale in the preceding 12 months, and the collector shall require him only to pay tax upon the amount of said imports.

Sect 4 That any person refusing to pay a tax as in this act required shall have no benefit of the laws of Oregon and shall be disqualified from voting at any election in this country.

Sect 5 That the sheriff shall serve as exofficio collector of the revenue for which he shall receive as a compensation for his services ten per cent upon all monies collected as revenue.

Sect 6 That the sheriff before entering upon the duties of his office as collector of revenue shall enter into bond with two or more good and sufficient securities in a sum of not less than five nor more than

ten thousand dollars to be approved by the executive committee which approval shall be written on the back of said bond and the said collector's bond shall be filed in the office of the clerk of the court.

Sect 7 That the collector shall pay over into the treasury on the first Monday in each and every month in the year all monies that may be in his hands and get the treasurer's receipt therefor.

Sect 8 That it shall be the duty of the Tribunal transactus to require the collector to settle with said court at each and every regular term of the court in Clackamas County.

Sect 9 The collector of the revenue shall make full payment into the treasury on or before the first Monday in December in each year.

Sec 10 The revenue of Oregon shall be collected in specie or available orders on solvent merchants in Oregon.

Sec 11 That all acts and parts of acts contrary to this act be and the same are hereby repealed.

1 Archives MS. The first Oregon tax law, enacted by the Legislative Committee June 25, 1844.

DOCUMENT C.

Report of J. L. Meek.¹

To the Honorable Legislature

Gentlemen

In submit[t]ing to your honorable body the following report of the public monies collected by me allow me to express my deep regret that though I have spared myself neither time nor trouble there is yet so large a proportion of the tax of 1844 remaining unpaid and permit me to assure you that the collection of the amount reported below has owing to our population being much scattered and to the unsettled state of the publick mind relative to the subject of taxation, been attended with great difficulty and no inconsiderable loss to my own purse. Many of those who have paid caused me to call upon them several times before they could or would settle. Yet on the other hand I am happy to state that many of those reported as unpaid have not only expressed their willingness but even a desire to contribute their mite toward defraying the expenses of the Government, but owing to their situation and the urgency of their immediate wants they are at present unable to do as they would wish to. I am pleased

to state that the number of those who have refused to pay any tax is but small.

The amount collected of the upper country tax is.....	\$396.77
do do of the Clatsop tax is.....	11.39
	<hr/>
	\$408.16
From this amount deduct the amount allowed by law for collecting.....	40.81
	<hr/>
and the balance is.....	\$367.35
Of this amount I have deposited with the Treasurer.....	356.77
and have in my hands	10.35
	<hr/>
	\$367.35
There is yet remaining unpaid of the upper country	
tax as per schedule as herewith submitted.....	\$ 70.41
do do do of Clatsop tax.....	2.57
	<hr/>
	\$ 72.98

I also have in my possession three small orders received for taxes which are not good amounting in all to \$3.37.

Of the amount reported unpaid it is my opinion that from one half to two thirds will ultimately be collected.

With Reverence and Respect

Your obt Servt

Joseph L. Meek

Collr

I would further report in addition to the above that I collected the fine imposed by the court on A. R. Stouton [Stoughton?] for \$25.00 and paid same into the Treasury. And there is due me by the Territorial Government as follows To wit

For taking the Census	\$105.35
" tending Circuit Court.....	100.53
	<hr/>
In all	\$205.88

(No date)²

1 Archives MS. The first report of tax collections in Oregon.

2 On December 23, 1844, J. L. Meek was allowed the further time of five months to finish the collection of the revenue for the year 1844. The Journal of the Legislature shows (Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 96), that the above report had not been obtained on August 9, 1845, and that he was ordered to report fully "as soon as practicable."

DOCUMENT D.

(First Report of Treasurer—June Session of Legislative Committee, 1844.)

To the Honorable, the Legislative Committee of the Territory of Oregon¹

The time has come when the laws of this Territory require me to report to your Honorable body the state of the Treasury. This report would have been submitted on the opening of the present session of your Honorable body had I not been so unfortunate as to lose my Pocket Book which contained the only copy of the subscription list in my possession. I can, however, state to your Honorable body the amounts of money received and disbursed with the present liabilities of the Treasury

Amount of money received.....	\$81.50
“ “ “ paid out	\$ 91.50
Present Liabilities	
Due on G. W. LeBreton's Drft favor L. H. Judson..	9.00
Commission on \$81.50 at 5 Percentum.....	4.07

The original subscription will be found in the hands of the Executive Committee of last year. I am sorry I can not say how much money remains on subscription. I think it will not, however, exceed the claims against this government which have as yet not been filed in.

Begging your allowance for inaccuracies

I have the Honor to

Your most obt. Humble Srvt.

W. H. Willson

Treas. Oregon Ter.

[No date]²

[Endorsed on back: "Treasurers Report W. H. Willson No. 1."]

¹ Archives MS.

² The Journal of this session of the Legislative Committee shows that the treasurer made his report for the preceding year on June 20, 1844 (Oregon Archives, p. 41.)

DOCUMENT E.

[J. Henry Brown in his "Political History of the Provisional Government," p. 156, gives a report of the Committee of Ways and Means on the Treasurer's

report of 1844. A copy of this was not found among the MSS. of the Archives.]
Report of Committee of Ways and Means on Treasurer's Report, 1844.

To copying laws, &c. by Geo. W. LeBreton.....	\$90.00	
To books purchased of J. A. O'Neil*.....	10.00	
To delivery of same	5.00	
		<hr/>
Total	\$105.00	
By subscriptions paid		\$81.50
Amount due on account rendered.....		23.50
		<hr/>
Total	\$105.00||	

[No date.]¹

* The minutes of the public meeting held July 5, 1843, at which the people adopted the organic laws reported by the Legislative Committee and Article 12 of the organic laws show that the laws of Iowa Territory were adopted for matters not covered by Oregon legislation. At the same meeting it was ordered that the several law books of Jas. O'Neil be purchased to be the property of the community. Some two years before this, when partial organization was effected, "the Supreme Judge with probate powers" elected was instructed to act according to the laws of the State of New York. (Oregon Archives, p. 6.) It was later reported by those who participated in this movement that there was no copy of the laws of that State in the country. W. H. Gray in his History of Oregon says: I query whether there was a single copy of the laws of that State in the country for ten years after the last resolution was passed. I know there was none at the time, and only a single copy of the laws of Iowa two years after. P. 201.

|| Twenty-three dollars and fifty cents were later paid the Treasurer to balance his account with the Territory, but his claim for handling the public moneys was ignored, probably because of his misfortune or carelessness in losing the subscription list.

¹ The Journal of this session indicates that it was the same day the Treasurer reported—June 20, 1844. (Oregon Archives, p. 41.)

DOCUMENT F.

Report of the Treasurer to the Honorable Legislature of Oregon assembled.¹

The following statement the treasurer trusts will prove correct as far as it extends and at the same time takes occasion [sic] to remark that but little funds have been passed over to him in consequence according the report of the collector of the high water and otherwise bad weather preventing him from travelling the necessary rounds for that purpose. The Treasurer would therefor humbly suggest that an extention of time be granted for the purpose of enabling him to complete the account for the current year.

Very Respectfully

Philip Foster—Treas.

Willamette Fall Dec 18th, 44.

	\$	cents
By taxes received from collector.....	313.	31
“ Licenses from two ferrys.....	40.	00
One fine \$5	5.	00
	<u>358.</u>	31

	\$	cts
Paid out for Stationry [sic].....	20.	38
Pd “ for use of Hathaway House.....	15.	00
“ Judge Babcock's Term	60.	00
“ Secretary	20.	00
	<u>115.</u>	38

a balance remaining in the Treasury..... \$242.93

[Endorsed on back: “Treasurer's Report recd and laid upon the Table.”]

1 Archives MS.

DOCUMENT G.

Report.¹

To the honorable Legislative Committee of Oregon

I have the honor gentlemen, to make my Report as Treasurer of Oregon. But, in the meantime, permit me to remark that, the Revenue which has come into the Treasury, will fall very far short of meeting the demands against it; and without more efficient means, or otherwise, more judicious legislation, this little Government will find itself involved in such a manner as to require a series of years to unfetter its wheels.

1844	Ferry License	Dr	Cr
July 4.	By H. Burns, on Abernethy.....		\$20.00
Sept. 2	“ R. Moore, on Ermatinger.....		20.00
	amount		<u>\$40.00</u>
	Fines to the Gov't		
July 29	By W. P. Dougherty on Abernethy.....		5.00
1845	Jany 10	By Stoughton on Abernethy.....	25.00
	March 11	By Alderman on Ermatinger.....	7.78
	Apl 29	By Dawson on Abernethy.....	15.00
	amount		<u>52.78</u>

1844	Advalorem Tax		
Oct. 29	By 96	8-100 Dollars on Abernethy.....	96.08
" "	By 22	52-100 Dollars order on Couch.....	22.52
" "	" 83	2-100 Dollars do on Ermatinger.....	83.02
" "	" 50-100	Dollars " " Foster.....	.50
Dec. 17	" 45	6-100 " do Ermatinger.....	45.06
" "	" 49	84-100 " " Abernethy.....	49.84
" "	" 6	27-100 " " Couch.....	6.27
" "	" 5	39-100 " " Couch note	5.39
			<hr/>
			\$308.68

(New page)

Dec. 17	By 3	48-100 Dollars order on Abernethy	3.48
" "	" 1	15-100 " " " Ermatinger	1.15
1845			
Jany 31	By 4	50-100 Dollars on Ermatinger.....	4.50
" "	" 11	45-100 " " Abernethy	11.45
" "	" 50-100	" " P. Foster .....	.50
" "	" 1	" " P. Foster	1.00
Apl. 29	" 12	14-100 " " Ermatinger	12.14
" "	" 7	32-100 " " Abernethy	7.32
May 15	" 1	20-100 " " Ermatinger	1.20
" "	" 2	39-100 " " Abernethy	2.39
			<hr/>
			Amount 45.13
			Am't brot. over 308.68
			<hr/>

1844			358.80[1]
July 5.	To Stationery.....	4.88	
" 23	" Do	4.75	
Dec 17	" Do	10.75	
Apl 2 '45	Do	1.25	
		<hr/>	\$21.63
June 18	.....	8.37	
		<hr/>	30.00

1844			Dr.
Oct. 3	Paid J. W. Nesmith by P. Foster, Jury fees.....		5.00
" "	use of room—individual funds.....		3.00
" 5	" Paid J. M. Wain by P. Foster Individual funds.....		20.00
" 29"	" J. E. Long Appropriation on Ermatinger-Government "		15.00
Nov. 8	" Paid Hathaway do use of House.....		60.00
Dec. 25	" Judge Babcock—appropriation.....		60.00
" "	R. Newell Do		7.00
Jany 28 '45	Paid P. Foster on Ermatinger.....		6.50
" 30	" P. Foster " Couch.....		50.00
" "	Paid J. L. Meek " Ermatinger.....		61.96
" "	Do J. L. Meek " Abernethy.....		5.00
May 12	Jury fees " Do		5.06
" 14	Do Do " Do		4.98
" 16	Do Do Do		2.62
" 30	Do Do Do		<hr/>
			306.12

(New page)

1845		Dr.
June 6	Paid Jury fees on Couch.....	3.00
" "	" P. Foster Couch's note to J. L. Meek, Dated Dec 16, 1844	5.39
" "	" Larrison's Jury Rec't Dated Dec '44	
" "	" by P. Foster—individual fund.....	3.42
" "	" McCaddon Jury fee dated 2nd Oct. '44	
" "	" by P. Foster—individual fund	3.00
" "	" Pickett 2 jury Rec't Dated 12 Oct '44	
" "	" by P. Foster—individual fund.....	6.00
" "	" A. Hewitt Jury Rec't Apl 23rd '45	
" "	" by P. Foster—individual fund.....	3.00
" "	" Jury fees on Aberneth(y).....	3.00
		<hr/>
	Amount	26.81
	Amount brot. over	306.12
		<hr/>
		332.93
1845	Young's Estate.	
March 11,	By \$300 Dollars paid by A. L. Lovejoy	
	Admr on E. Young's estate on Ermatinger...	300.00
" "	To 291 66 2-3—100 Dollars Jail fund Dawson	
	& Oty on Ermatinger	291.66 2-3
Apr. 17	By 300 Dollars on Abernethy.....	300.00
" "	To 145 83-100 Dawson & Oty Do.....	145.83
" "	" 12 " to H. Ernberg for	
	draft of jail on Ermatinger.....	12.00
May 5	By 300 Dollars " Do	300.00
		<hr/>
" "	To 291 66 2-3—100 to Dawson & Oty Do.....	291.66 2-3 900.00
June 9	" 45 88-10 jail fund to Dawson & Oty on Abernethy	45.86
		<hr/>
		787.04 1-3
	Stationary &c, &c.....	362.93
		<hr/>
		1149.97 1-3
	Ferry License	40.00
	Fines	52.78
	Advalorem Tax	353.41*
		<hr/>
		1346.19||

All of which is respectfully submitted

Phillip Foster—Treas.

1 Archives MS.

* An error of 40 cents was made by Treasurer in bringing this sum over.

|| This would leave balance due treasurer of \$196.22. Compare that sum with first item in Document J. The discrepancy can be accounted for only on basis of the treasurer tagging out his commissions.

DOCUMENT H.

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of Oregon Territory.¹
Gentlemen

In compliance with the resolve of your Honorable body calling upon me to report upon the state of the treasury, I beg to present the annexed schedule, giving in round numbers the deficiencies of the Funds in hand to meet the responsibilities of Government.

Am't of Funds in the Treasury.....	\$ 441.00
Recpt from A. L. Lovejoy Executor of Young's Estate.....	\$2000.00
Treasury scrip issued and not yet taken up.....	\$1100.00
Legislatures and Clerks fees for which no scrip has been issued....	\$ 500.00
From the above schedule your Honorable Body will see that the responsibilities of the Government are.....	\$3600.00
Deduct funds in Hand.....	\$ 441.00
and there will remain a Balance of.....	\$3159

I have the Honor to be

Gentlemen your obt Servt

Frs Ermatinger Treas.

Oregon City 12th August 1845.

¹ Archives MS.

DOCUMENT I.

To The Honourable the House of Representatives of Oregon Territory¹
Gentlemen

In compliance with the call of your Honourable body, I beg, to present the following report—

The responsibilities of the Government are

To the Estate of E. Young Dr.....	2315—
" Scrip issued and unpaid.....	500—
" F Ermatinger Merchant	400—
" Legislative fees supposing the session to continue 20 days.....	560
" Salaries of Governor Judge & Clerks.....	900
	<hr/>
	\$4675

To meet this sum there remains the unpaid Taxes of the year, the amount of which I am at present unable to report upon—as I believe the assessment has not yet been completed, and as in the collection of the Taxes there appears to be great difficulties. I will with submission [sic] recommend to your honourable body to pass a law empowering

the Sheriffs of the different districts to collect all monies due to the Government for Taxes without the penalties attached to an order from the Treasurer and to complete the year 1845.

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen
Your very humble
and obedient servant,
Frs Ermatinger Treas.

Oregon City
Dec 10th 1845.

1 Archives MS.

DOCUMENT J.

Treasurer of Oregon Territory¹

Dr. to Sundries	
To Amt. received from P. Foster as treasury funds.....	\$ 132.12
To " Taxes collected by you.....	526.66
" " Licenses " " ".....	208.00
" " rec'd from A. Lovejoy, admr.....	1415.00
" " " " M. Whitman, donation.....	10.00
" " Taxes rec'd from Sheriff Holmes.....	20.99
" " " " " " Hughes.....	76.84
" " " " " " Owen.....	40.73
" " Scrip issued.....	1933.04
	<hr/>
	\$4363.38

Sundries	
Dr. to Treasurer.	
By Am't Scrip paid.....	\$ 307.56
" " Leg. fees ".....	1541.00
" " Jury ".....	195.32
" " Clerk and Recorder ".....	72.50
" " Secretary ".....	111.31
" " Clatsop election paid.....	17.50
" " Supreme & Criminal Judge ".....	100.00
" " Circuit Judge ".....	250.00
" " Clerk —44 ".....	20.00
" " Secretary " ".....	96.00
" " Circuit Attorney ".....	112.50
" " W. Wilson " [W. H. Wilson].....	23.50
" " Sheriff ".....	205.88
" " Dawson & Co (Jail Ap.) ".....	249.95
" " Lunatics ".....	200.00

" "	Exec. Com. "	.....	37.50
" "	Clerk House "	.....	40.00
" "	Contingent Expenses "	.....	95.79
			<hr/>
	[New Page]	forward	\$3976.31
	brot forward.....		3976.31
By Am't paid	Stationery.....		42.40
" "	" Governor Salary 1 Qr.....		75.00
" "	" for printing		16.00
" "	" P. O. Dept.		50.00
" "	" Secretary		158.75
" "	" Treasurer		216.86
			<hr/>
			\$4535.32
	Less debit column.....		4363.38
			<hr/>
			\$171.94
To amount jury fees paid by P. Foster Tr.....			47.08
			<hr/>
	(Balance due Treasury)		124.86
By amo't rec'd per P. Foster from Admr. E. Young.....			\$900.00
To Estate E. Young per P. Foster Tr.....			900
[Endorsed on back: "F. Ermatinger's a-c as Treasurer with Oregon Territory rend. Mch 4-46."]*			

1 Archives MS.
* Francis Ermatinger resigned as Territorial Treasurer on March 4, 1846, and as the Legislature was not in session the above report was presented to it on December 1, 1846, by his successor, Jno. H. Couch. See statement of Couch presented on that date in next document.

DOCUMENT K.

[Addressed on the outside: To the Hon the Legislature of Oregon.]
I submit to you a statement¹ showing the state of the Treasury. Also the Treasurer's report of last year.
You will perceive by referring to it that
the amount of scrip issued was..... 1933.04
of that amt there was..... 307.56
paid, leaving a balance outstanding of..... 1625.48
which amount added to issue since March 4th
not paid makes the total of..... 1879.64
outstanding at this date.

The Postmaster's report handed him shows the department in debt 116.00. The Amt. appropriated (\$50) with amount of receipts makes a total of 169.30. Amot paid out total of 285.30 leaving a balance of \$116.00 due by the department—all of which I respectfully submit to you

Oregon City
Dec 1st 1846.

John. H. Couch
Territorial Treasurer.

Treasurer of Oregon Territory

Dr To Sundries.

To Amt Licences collected by you.....	70.00
" " Received from A. L. Lovejoy, Admstor.....	500.00
" " Taxes recd from Sheriff Holmes (Clackamas).....	384.06
" do " " Hughes (Champoeg)	26.88
" do " " Pue (Twality)	24.85
" do " " Jackson (Linn)	40.53
" do " " Owens (Clatsop)	9.84
" do " " Baker (YamHill)	103.88
" do " " Hembree (do do).....	39.13
Absentee Tax (Claims) Collected.....	100.00
Scrip issued	1401.60

Sundries Dr.

To Treasurer

By Amt Scrip paid to date.....	1147.44
" " Legislative Fees paid.....	58.00
" " Jury do "	49.78
" " Engrossing Clerk paid.....	20.00
" " Supreme Judge 3 Qrs. Salary.....	150.00
" " Criminal do 3 " "	150.00
" " Circuit Attorney	113.87
" " Sheriffs	17.08
" " Contingent expense—House	31.21
" " Governor 4 Qrs.....	300.00
" " Super Indian Affairs 3 "	150.00
" " paid house rent &c Champoeg.....	16.00
" " " Expense Supreme & C. Courts.....	20.00
" " " W. C. Remick (Jail Tub).....	4.00
" " " D. Gil[1]espie (Oregon seal).....	25.00
" " " Printing association (for Laws).....	300.00
" " " S. W. Moss on a-c assessing.....	13.10
" " " Stationery	10.10
" " " Interest on scrip	25.13

[New Page]

forward

2600.71(61)

Forward

2600.71

By Amt paid Treasurer Clackamas Co.....

38.00

" " " " F. Ermatinger (Balance)

8.50

" " "

48.92

2696.13

2700.77

2696.13

balance

4.64

Whole Amt Scrip out this date.....\$1879.64

Oregon City Dec 1st-46.

DOCUMENT L.

To the "Hon. the Legislature of Oregon."¹
Gentlemen

In answer to a resolution passed by the House calling upon me for a report of the State of the Treasury I would say, that I have handed in my report which the House I believe accepted, and for the further information of the committee to whom the report was referred, I would state that in the liabilities of the Gov't there is contained the sum of \$140.94 due the Hudson Bay Co. in Oregon City which amt has been standing since the Books were passed to me (Mch 4-46) and I have never in the whole amt of receipts been able to pay any to them on account as the receipts from the sheriffs & and others have been paid me in scrip with a few exceptions. The whole amount paid in from the estate of Ewen [sic] Young to this date is \$2815 Dollars; any further information respecting the finances of the Gov't that I am in possession of should be hap[p]y to impart. Respectfully yours
Jno. H. Couch Treas.

Jno. P. Brooks Dpty.

Oregon City Dec 5-46.

¹ Archives MS.

DOCUMENT M.

[A more detailed report submitted four days later than the above—December 9, 1846.]

State of the Treasury Dec. 1, 1846.¹

Funds in hands—

Amt due by Geo. Abernethy per a-c.....	\$81.54
“ “ “ Jno H. Couch “ “	16.92
“ “ “ F. W. Pettygrove	11.27
“ “ “ H. B. Co. Ft. Vancouver.....	16.47½
	<hr/>
	126.15½

Liabilities:—

Amt due H. B. Co. Oregon City.....	140.94
“ collected of the Estate Ewing Young.....	2815.00
Scrip outstanding at this date (not paid).....	1879.64
	<hr/>
	4835.58

Receipts since Dec 1, '46 to date:—

Taxes from Jno R. Jackson, Sheriff Lewis Co.....	24.58
“ “ “ “ “ “ Vancouver (Co)	57.73
“ “ Wm Holmes, Sheriff Clackamas.....	115.00

¹ Archives MS.

Licences paid by R. K. Payne	110.00
" " " H. N. Winslow	100.00
Absentee Tax pd by J. R. Jackson Vancouver Co.....	10.00
	<hr/>
	407.31

The receipts since Dec 1, '46, have been paid me wholly in scrip.	
Interest paid on scrip Dec. 9, 3.59.....	3.59
	<hr/>
	403.72

Dec. 9, '46

Jno P Brooks.
Dpty Treas.

[Written across the above document are the words: "Entered on Books. G. W. Bell, Auditor Public a-c Oregon Territory."]²

Scrip out	1879.64
Int.	3.59
	<hr/>
Ist.	1883.23
Rct since Dec.....	407.31
	<hr/>
	1475.92
H. Bay	140.94
Ewing Young	2815.00
	<hr/>
	4431.86 Balance Lias

G. W. Bell.

Amount due on appropriations of 1844 and 1845 at Decembr 1. '46.	
Balance of appropriations for pay of Legislature.....	25.00
Balance due for pay of Jurors	54.90
Contingent expenses of House.....	43.79
Expenses of Supreme and Criminal Courts.....	80.00
Governor's Salary—Whole amount paid ending his last Qr. Oct. 1, '46..	
Judge Supreme Court—Qr. ending Dec. 6, '46.....	50.00
" Criminal do " " " " "	50.00
Circuit Attorney Qr. end Sep 12, '46.....	136.13
Super Indian Affairs.....	50.00
Paid of the above up to date.	
" P. H. Burnett, Dec. 8, ¼ Salary S. J.....	50.00
" " " " " " ¼ C. J.....	50.00

Dec 9-46

Jno P. Brooks Dpty Tr.

[There is written across the above document the following: "Entered on Auditor's Books. G. W. Bell, Auditor O. Terrty."]

2 The Territorial Treasurer had been ex-officio Auditor, but on December 19, 1846, the office of Auditor of Public Accounts was established. The Auditor in opening his books transcribed the accounts of the Treasurer and the Committee of Ways and Means of the Legislature were evidently at this time plying the Treasurer for reports that all the results of the financial legislation and treasury transactions should be shown completely.

Amt collected from Estate of Ewen [sic] Young to present date....\$2815
 Returns from Clackamas, Polk, Yamhill and Twality counties as per
 assessment roll\$1372.36
 Provable [sic] expenses of the present session of the Legislature..... 905.00

The following named counties as yet have made no returns of
 assessment to the Treasurer: Champoeg, Vancouver, Lewis and Clatsop.

Dec. 10 Assessment roll of Louis [sic] County..... 133.25
 Vancouver County 164.55

DOCUMENT P.

Treasurer of Oregon Territory To sundries Dr.*

1847	Dr.	
To Balance	39.50	
To Licenses collected	515.00	
To Taxes from Sheriff Holmes, Clackamas County.....	115.00	
“ do “ do Martin, Champoie County.....	133.25	
“ do “ do Baker, Yamhill County.....	20.00	
“ do “ do Mulkey, Tualatin county	27.75	
“ do “ do Wiley, Tualatin county.....	120.14	
“ do “ do Jackson, Vancouver county.....	165.26	
“ do “ do Jackson, Lewis county	110.89	
To absentee taxes collected	345.00	
To scrip issued	2912.60	
		4504.42
Sundries Dr To Treasurer		
By scrip paid	1377.61	
To Auditor's drafts (on file.....	2693.08	
To paid estate Le Breton.....	7.29	
“ “ Hudson's Bay Co. (Falls) their account.....	140.94	
“ “ interest on scrip.....	43.26	
“ “ treasurer (bill on file).....	203.66	
To Balance (funds on hand).....	38.63||	
diff 5c		4504.47

Jno H. Couch
 per Jno P. Brooks

Oregon City Oct 15-47.1

* Archives MS.; also Oregon Archives, p. 217.

|| Cf. item, "The amt recd of former Treasurer" of Document R.

1 Jno. H. Couch resigned as treasurer on this date and the above report
 was submitted to the Legislature by his successor, W. K. Kilborn, on December
 9 of the same year.

DOCUMENT Q.

Oregon Territory in a-c with Jno H. Couch (Treasurer) Dr.*

1846			
Mar. 4	To Funds in hands received from F. Ermatinger		
	Am't 100.65 c 2 per ct....		2.01
Dec. 8	" Scrip issued Mch 4-46 to date.....	2386.64	47.73
" "	" " paid to date & exchanged.....	2132.48	42.64
" "	" Funds paid dues of Gov't.....	155.76	3.11
1846			
Dec 8	To Received Taxes of Gov't 1319.02 c. 2 per ct....		26.38
			<hr/>
			121.87
1846 Contra			
Oct. 13	By Scrip.....	33.92	
"	" Draft on Jno. H. Couch Mcht.....	15.00	48.92
			<hr/>
Dec 8	To Balance due me.....		72.95
" 21	Scrip issued to 21st Dec from 8th.....	100.00 c 2 per ct	2.00
" "	do paid from 8 to 21st "	78.72	1.57
" "	Funds received—dues of Gov't.....	82.31	1.65
			<hr/>
			78.17
1847 Contra			
Apl. 10	By Scrip.....		78.17
1847			
June 8,	To Funds in hands.....	107.16 c 2 per ct	2.15
Sept. 27,	" Scrip Issued from Dec 21 46 to date	2419.58 " "	48.39
" "	do paid & exchanged.....	1576.16	31.53
" "	Funds paid out	242.35	4.85
"	Taxes &c received.....	1322.12	26.44
			<hr/>
			113.36
Contra			
	By Treasurer's draft on Jno H. Couch Mcht.....		18.42
"	" Scrip		94.94
			<hr/>
			113.36
1847			
Oct. 16	To Funds received from Sept 27-47	160.14 2 per ct	3.20
" "	do paid " " " "	161.04 " " "	3.22
"	Scrip issued to date	285.95	5.71
			<hr/>
			12.13
Contra			
	By Scrip		12.13
Oregon City, Oct. 15, 1847.			

* Archives MS.

DOCUMENT R.

The Treasurer of Oregon Territory most respectfully reports to the Honourable Legislature of Oregon¹

That the Amt of scrip issued by former treasurers is.....	\$7,752.12	
Amt issued by me.....	1,151.07	
making the gross amt issued.....	\$8,903.19	
From which take amt redeemed by former treasurers....	\$4,328.83	
Amt redeemed by me.....	450.90	
Making gross amt redeemed		4,779.73
Leaving the amt of outstanding scrip.....		4,123.46*
From which take Amt of funds in Treasury.....		43.72
which amt of liabilities unprovided for.....		4,079.74

The amount 1151.07 issued by me was as follows:

For auditor's drafts.....	550	
" 10 pr ct. on 157.22 paid in by R. E. Wiley..	15.71	
Amt issued in making change.....	185.36	
" " to Clackamas Co for errors of former Treasurer	400.00	
making in all	1151.07	
The amt recd of former Treasr.....	\$38.63	
" " of Absentee Tax col.....	60.00	
" " Licenses " "	70.00	
" " Scrip issued	1151.07	
" " recd of R. E. Wiley, Shrf of Twality Co.....	157.22	
Amounting in all.....		\$1476.92
Amt on Deposit at G. Abernethy.....	\$28.63	
" " " Hudson B. C.....	10.00	
" " " Kilborn L & C (?).....	5.09	
Interest paid	16.59	
Scrip redeemed	450.90	
10 pr. ct. paid R. E. Wiley on 157.22.....	15.71	
Auditor's drafts	550.00	
Amt paid Clackamas Co on error in License.....	400.00	
Amounting in all.....		\$1476.92

In addition to the foregoing and as a part of the same I beg leave to submit the former Treasurer's report.²

W. K. Kilborn Treasurer

By N. Smith Dpty

Oregon City, Dec. 9, 1847.

¹ Archives MS., and in Oregon Archives with above date, p. 215.

* According to preceding reports:

Am't scrip issued	6250.83
Am't issued by K.....	1151.07
<hr/>	
Total am't issued.....	7401.90
Am't redeemed by former Treasurers..	2832.61
Am't redeemed by K.....	450.90
<hr/>	
	3283.51
Am't outstanding	4118.39

2 See Document Q.

DOCUMENT S.

Auditor's Report.1

Treasury Department, Auditor's Office,
Oregon City, Dec. 7, 1847.

The auditor of public accounts has the honor to lay before the House of Representatives his Report, showing the amount of claims audited by him, for the year ending on 1st December, 1847, together with a full abstract of the state of the treasury, so far as the same has yet come within the duties of his office.

Whole amt of warrants drawn upon the treasury.....\$3243.08

Which warrants were drawn under the following heads of appropriations, as exhibited in the Tables hereunto annexed; to wit:—

Hheads of Appropriations.	Amount Appropriated.	Amount Expended.	Amount Unexpended.
Relief of Fred Prigg	27.88	27.88	
“ “ A. L. Lovejoy.....	34.25	34.25	
“ “ J. W. Nesmith.....	60.00	60.00	
“ “ Estate of J E Long.....	150.00	150.00	
“ “ S. W. Moss.....	100.00	100.00	
“ “ Post Office Department.....	116.00	116.00	
“ “ Hudson Bay Company.....	140.94		140.94
To pay of unpaid officers of last quarter	494.82		494.82
To pay of Legislature to 19th Dec. 1846	1000.00	888.60	111.40
To pay of Judiciary Department.....	1500.00	987.75	512.25
“ “ “ Exec “	300.00	300.00	
“ “ “ Indian “	200.00	150.00	50.00
“ “ “ Contingent Expenses.....	100.00	41.19	58.81
To pay of H. M. Knighton	32.12	32.12	
Special account for			
for amount due Andrew Hembree....	226.75	226.75	
Amount drawn under appropriations of Dec. 1846 [Totals are not given]			

1 Archives MS. and Oregon Archives, pp. 211-214.

To which add the amount drawn on the on the different balances as per treasurer's report of 9th Dec., 1846 to wit:—

For pay of Legislature.....	25.00	24.60	.40
“ “ “ Jurors	54.90	9.34	45.56
“ “ “ Contingent Expenses	43.79		43.79
“ “ “ Expenses of supreme and criminal courts	80.00	10.95	69.05
“ “ “ Circuit Attorney	136.13	33.65	102.48
“ “ “ Superintendent			
Indian Affairs	50.00	50.00	

Total amount of warrants drawn on the treasurer, which ware [sic] for claims audited in favor of the following persons, for the several amounts and in the order exhibited in the following tables to wit:—

Voucher No.	1	Lawrence Hall	\$42.40
“ “	2	Robert Newell	42.60
“ “	3	D. H. Lownsdale	41.00
“ “	4	J. D. Boon	46.00
“ “	5	Jesse Looney	50.00
“ “	6	J. E. Williams	38.00
“ “	7	W. G. T. Vault, Postmaster general.	116.00
“ “	8	W. G. TVault	36.00
“ “	9	A. Chamberlain	43.00
“ “	10	Geo. Summers	63.00
“ “	11	Hiram Straight	38.00
“ “	12	J. W. Nesmith	60.00
“ “	13	A. L. Lovejoy	34.25
“ “	14	A. McKinley	2.25
“ “	15	N. Huber	38.00
“ “	16	N. Huber	11.00
“ “	17	A. J. Hembree	41.00
“ “	18	H. N. Piers	44.00
“ “	19	J. L. Meek	43.00
“ “	20	S. W. Moss	100.00
Voucher No.	21	H. M. Knighton	93.00
“ “	22	H. M. Knighton	32.12
“ “	23	Frederick Prigg	27.88
“ “	24	A. L. Lovejoy	38.00
“ “	25	W. F. Tolmie	68.00
“ “	26	Estate of J. E. Long.....	150.00
“ “	27	T. Magruder (McG).....	22.00
“ “	28	Thos. Owens	3.52
“ “	29	Peter H. Burnett.....	12.75
“ “	30	Angus McDonald	42.60
“ “	31	A. Hembree	226.75
“ “	32	Noys Smith	8.00
“ “	33	John Edmunds	5.40
“ “	34	Robert Newell	24.60
“ “	35	A. L. Lovejoy	33.65
“ “	36	A. L. Lovejoy	75.00
“ “	37	A. A. Skinner	200.00
“ “	38	Charles Rondo	3.94
“ “	39	J. Quinn Thornton	50.00

"	"	40 A. L. Lovejoy.....	75.00
"	"	41 A. A. Skinner	200.00
"	"	42 J. Quinn Thornton	50.00
"	"	43 Oregon Printing Association.....	35.42
"	"	44 A. A. Skinner	200.00
"	"	45 A. L. Lovejoy	75.00
"	"	46 James W. Boyle.....	10.95
"	"	47 J. Quin Thornton	50.00
"	"	48 George Abernethy	300.00*
"	"	49 George Abernethy	150.00
"	"	50 George Abernethy	50.00

Liabilities

The following are items of liabilities, as exhibited in the treasurer's report of December 9, 1846 to wit:—

Amount due Am H. Bay company at O City.....	\$140.94
Amount collected of Estate of Ewing Young.....	2815.00
Amount of scrip outstanding	1475.92||
	<hr/>
	\$ 4431.86

Assets

The following are items of assets, as exhibited in the treasurer's report of December 9, 1846 to wit:—

Amount due by George Abernethy, & Co. per account..	\$81.54
" " " John H. Couch	16.92
" " " F. W. Pettygrove	11.27
" " " H. B. company, at Fort Vancouver..	16.42
	<hr/>
	\$126.15
Amount of assessment of territorial revenue in Clackamas county, for 1847, as per report of county clerk of November 1847	714.10
	<hr/>
	\$840.25

Recapitulation

Amount of liabilities Pr treasurer's report of 9th Decr 1846	\$4431.86
For warrants drawn for fiscal year.....	3243.08
	<hr/>
	\$7674.94

The foregoing statements do not show the true state of the territorial accounts. Various sums have, no doubt, been received into the

* See also Documents K and N. It is repeatedly asserted in Bancroft's Oregon (Vol. I, p. 479 and Vol II, p. 63) that Governor Abernethy drew no salary under the Provisional Government. This impression was probably received from his having much worthless scrip on hand, for which he was reimbursed by the Legislature in 1872, receiving \$2,986.21. The original amount on which interest accumulated was \$1,187.29. Session Laws 1872, p. 172.

|| Cf. Documents M and O.

treasury during the year, which ware [sic] not reported to the auditor's department, in the absence of directory statutes to that effect. All of which is respectfully submitted.

G. W. Bell.

DOCUMENT T.

"To the Hon House of Representatives of Oregon Territory now in Session."

The Treasurer would respectfully beg leave to Report as follows .

The whole amt of Scrip Issued by myself & former Treasurers is..	14,373.91
Amt Redeemed	8,935.52
	<hr/>
Outstanding Scrip is	\$ 5,438.59

Since the last report there has been

Dr

Scrip Issued	5470.72
Absentee Taxes	660.00
County Taxes	1428.50
Licenses to vend Mdze &c.....	305.00

Cr

Paid Auditor's Drfts.....	3529.18
" Interest on Scrip.....	116.70
" 10 pr. ct collection on Taxes.....	62.50
Scrip redeemed	4155.79
	<hr/>
	7864.22

The Treasurer would beg of your Hon. Body to devise some means for the payment of the interest on the scrip as the way it now stands the Territory is paying compound interest which you are all aware the Territory can ill afford. I would humbly suggest that it would be advantageous to place to the credit of the Territory funds sufficient to meet the anticipated demand in some store and when the scrip is presented for exchange draw an order for the interest and issue scrip for the actual amount on the face of the Crip. Or again authorize the Treasurer to issue scrip without interest for the amt of the Interest due. Your Hon. body will please observe that but few taxes have been paid in. From Polk, Linn, and Benton county no returns have been made—from other counties returns have been forwarded. But excepting Clackamas, Tuality and Yamhill no tax has been received

for 1848. Hoping that some means may be devised for the more
punctual payment of the taxes as your Hon. Body may see fit I am
gent

your obt Sert

Wm. K. Kilborn
Treas of O. T.

[No date, and endorsed simply: "Ter Treasurers Report."]*

* The Journal of the Legislature shows that the above report was received
on February 10, 1849. P. 292 Oregon Archives.

DOCUMENT U.

The Auditor of Public Accounts most respectfully reports to the
Honorable Legislature of Oregon, the amount of claims audited for
the year commencing Dec 7th, 1847, to date by himself and two
auditors resigned as follows

Whole amount of warrants drawn upon the Treasurer.....	3529.20
By former Auditor....	3204.10
“ H. Clark	325.10
The amount drawn this year from the unexpended appropriation of last year	342.85
	3186.35

Leaving 3186.35 as the amount expended from the appropriations
of the year as follows:—

To what appropriated	Amt appropriated.	Expended	Unexpended
Pay of Legislature	1200.00	1069.40	130.60
Executive Department	300.00	225.00	75.00
Circuit Attorney	300.00	225.00	75.00
Fredk Prigg Sec State.....	80.38	80.38	
G. W. Bell Auditor.....	68.87	68.87	
Territorial Treasurer	500.00	336.20	163.80
Judiciary Department	1600.00	825.00	775.00
Indn Dept....	200.00	100.00	100.00
Contingent Expenses	500.00	256.50	243.50
Whole amount appropriated.....	4749.25		
Whole amount expended		3186.35	
Whole amount unexpended			1562.90

The **Liabilities** and assets of the Territory will be found **only** by
referring to the Treasurer's report as **no account** of them appears upon
the **auditors Books** from December 1-46 as presented to me a short
time since.

In addition to the foregoing and as part of the same I beg leave to

submit to you the Auditors Book, as I cannot believe that the accounts have been kept according to the requirements of the law respecting the auditorship.

H. Clark

Oregon City, Feby 9th, 1849.

Audtr.

* Archives MS., and Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 462.

DOCUMENT V.

[Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, Feb. 12, 1849.]*

The Committee to whom was referred the the Report of the Treasurer and Auditor of Public accounts ask leaf [sic] to report: That they have had the same under consideration and find that, from the manner the law authorises the Treasurer to exchange scrip it is impossible for the Auditors and Treasurers Books to correspond.

The report of the Treasurer shows outstanding Scrip amount to....	\$5438.59
The amount of draft drawn on the Treasurer by auditor is.....	3529.18
The Auditors report shows amount of warrants drawn on Treasurer is	3529.20

Making a nominal difference of two cents.

The appropriation made for the year ending I Tuesday in December, 1848 amounted to.....	\$4749.25
There has been expended of that amount.....	3186.35
leaving a balance unexpended	1562.90

Your Committee would recommend the modification of the law authorizing the Treasurer to exchange Scrip to save the Territory from paying Compound Interest.

Respectfully submitted

M. Crawford Chrmn.

* Archives MS. Not dated, but date obtained from Journal, Oregon Archives, p. 297.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS.

ABSTRACT 1.

Receipts and Expenditures.

Date of Report—May 2, 1843, to June 20, 1844.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Subscriptions	\$ 81.50	Administration—Secretary ..	\$ 90.00
Balance due Treasurer	23.50	Library	15.00
Total		Total	
\$ 105.00		\$ 105.00	

Date of Report—June 20, 1844, to June 25, 1845.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Ferry Licenses	\$ 40.00	General	\$1149.97
Fines	52.78	Balance in Treasury	196.62
Taxes—Advalorem	353.81		
Escheat funds	900.00		
Total		Total	
\$1346.59		\$1346.59	

Date of Report—June 25, 1845, to March 4, 1846.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Balance in Treasury	\$ 179.20	Scrip redeemed	\$ 307.56
Licenses	208.00	General	4227.76
Donation	10.00		
Taxes—Advalorem	665.22		
Escheat funds	1415.00		
Scrip issued	1933.04		
Balance due Treasurer	124.86		
Total		Total	
\$4535.32		\$4535.32	

Date of Report—March 4, 1846, to December 9, 1846.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Licenses	\$ 70.00	Scrip redeemed	\$1147.44
Absentee tax	100.00	General	1652.28
Tax—Advalorem	1036.48	Balance in treasury	311.95
Escheat funds	500.00		
Scrip issued	1405.19		
Total		Total	
\$3111.67		\$3111.67	

Date of Report—December 9, 1846, to October 15, 1847.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Balance in treasury	\$ 39.53	Scrip redeemed	\$1377.61
Licenses	515.00	Interest paid	43.26
Absentee tax	345.00	General	3044.92
Tax—Advalorem	692.29	Balance in treasury	38.63
Scrip issued	2912.60		
Total		Total	
\$4504.42		\$4504.42	

Date of Report—October 15, 1847, to December 9, 1847.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Balance in treasury	\$ 38.63	Scrip redeemed	\$ 450.90
Licenses	70.00	Interest paid	16.59
Absentee tax	60.00	General	965.71
Tax—Advalorem	157.22	Balance in treasury	43.72
Scrip issued	1151.07		
Total		Total	
\$1476.92		\$1476.92	

Date of Report—December 9, 1847, to February 9, 1849.

Receipts.		Expenditures.	
Balance in treasury	\$	Scrip redeemed	\$4155.79
Licenses	305.00	Interest paid	116.70
Absentee tax	660.00	General	3591.73
Tax—Advalorem	1428.50		
Scrip issued	5470.72		
Total		Total	
\$7864.22		\$7864.22	

ABSTRACT 2.

Scrip Outstanding.

Date of Report—June 25, 1845, to March 4, 1846.

Scrip outstanding\$1625.48

Date of Report—March 4, 1846, to December 9, 1846.

Scrip outstanding\$1883.23

Date of Report—December 9, 1846, to October 15, 1847.

Scrip outstanding\$3418.22

Date of Report—October 15, 1847, to December 9, 1847.

Scrip outstanding\$4118.39*

Date of Report—December 9, 1847, to February 9, 1849.

Scrip outstanding\$5433.32

*Cf. Document R.

ABSTRACT 3.

Escheat Funds.

Date of Report—June 20, 1844, to June 25, 1845.

Amount covered into treasury.....\$ 900.00

Date of Report—June 25, 1845, to March 4, 1846.

Total escheat funds\$2315.00

Date of Report—March 4, 1846, to December 9, 1846.

Total escheat funds\$2815.00

Date of Report—December 9, 1846, to October 15, 1847.	
Total escheat funds	\$2815.00
Date of Report—October 15, 1847, to December 9, 1847.	
Total escheat funds	\$2815.00
Date of Report—December 9, 1847, to February 9, 1849.	
Total escheat funds	\$2815.00

ABSTRACT 4.

State of the Treasury.

Date of Reports.	Balance Accounts.	Dr.	Cr.
June 20, 1844	Balance due treasurer.....	\$ 23.50	
	Cf. Document E.		
Dec. 18, 1844	Balance in treasury.....		\$ 242.93*
	*Reported, but for accrued liabilities in salaries due, etc., etc., see and Cf. Document F.		
August 12, 1845	Funds in treasury		\$ 441.00
	Scrip outstanding and accrued liabilities	\$1600.00	
	Balance liabilities	\$1159.00	
	Cf. Document H.		
Dec. 10, 1845	Scrip outstanding	\$ 500.00	
	Book account	400.00	
	Accrued liabilities	1460.00	
	Balance liabilities	\$2360.00*	
	*To meet these there were the unpaid taxes of the year. Cf. Document I.		
Dec. 9, 1846	Credit book accounts		\$126.15½
	Scrip outstanding.....	\$1883.23	
	P. O. Department account.....	116.00	
	Book account	140.94	
	Balance liabilities	\$2014.01½	
	Minus	407.31	
		1606.70½	
	Accrued liabilities are set off against taxes in sight. Cf. Documents M and O.		
Dec. 9, 1847	Funds in treasury		\$43.72
	Scrip outstanding	\$4123.46	
	Balance liabilities	\$4079.74	
	Cf. Document R.		
Feb. 9, 1849	Scrip outstanding	\$5438.59	
	Cf. Document T.		

ABSTRACT 5.
Classification of Expenditures (From Appropriation Bills.)

	July 5, 1843.	June 26, 1844.	Dec. 24, 1844.	Aug. 15, 1845.	Aug. 23, 1845.	Dec. 22, 1845.	Dec. 19, 1846.	Dec. 28, 1847.	Feb. 16, 1849.	Totals.
1. Salaries of administrative officials and assistants	\$ 81 50	.....	\$ 267 96 ³ / ₄	\$ 516 66	\$1123 50	.....	\$1072 70	\$ 949 25	\$ 922 73	\$ 4934 31
2. Pay of legislators	100 00	.....	966 00	500 00	1000 00	1200 00	1500 00	5266 00
3. Expenses of Legislature, clerks, rent, stationery, etc	65 00	20 00	125 00	.....	135 00	.....	.....	.....	345 00
4. Salaries of Judiciary	210 00	50 00	263 03	750 00	.....	1594 25	1900 00	1900 00	6667 28
5. Judiciary expenses other than salaries	300 00	16 00	100 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	416 00
6. Charity	500 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	500 00
7. Printing	350 00	.....	.....	.....	350 00
8. Buildings	1036 04	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1036 04
9. Indian Affairs—Military expenses	200 00	200 00	1950 00	2350 00
10. Interest	116 00	.....	.....	116 00
11. Postoffice Department—Pilotage	150 00	150 00
12. Miscellaneous and unclassified	17 50	.....	50 00	373 06	500 00	500 00	1390 56
	\$ 81 50	\$ 275 00	\$2274 00	\$ 938 19	\$2939 50	\$1035 00	\$4356 01	\$4749 25	\$6922 73	\$23521 19

II

FINANCES OF THE CAYUSE WAR

The Legislature of the Provisional Government met for its annual session in 1847 on December 7. On the following day the Governor communicated to it intelligence of a horrible massacre committed by some Cayuse Indians at a missionary settlement on the Upper Columbia. This missionary station, known as Waiilatpu, was located near Fort Walla Walla, a post of the Hudson Bay Company at the juncture of the Snake with the Columbia. News of the shocking affair had been brought down the river to Fort Vancouver by a messenger of the agent at Walla Walla, and the chief factor at the fort, James Douglas, had announced it to Governor Abernethy. Dr. Marcus Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, and some ten or eleven other persons had been killed. Forty-seven, almost all of them women and children, were captives. Other missionaries farther up in the interior were in danger. The Governor, in his annual message, sent to the Legislature the day before word of the awful tragedy reached him, had concluded his report of the situation with regard to the Indians as follows: "A number of robberies have been committed by the Indians in the upper country, upon the emigrants, as they were passing through their territory. This should not be allowed to pass. An appropriation should be made by you, sufficient to enable the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to take a small party in the spring and demand restitution of the property, or its equivalent in horses." The Whitman massacre, and the carrying of women and children into captivity, now added harrowing insult to former injury.

Not only must no time be lost in bringing the murderers to account, in rescuing the captives and in protecting the remaining stations, but the trouble-making tribes must re-

ceive chastisement or the annual cavalcades of immigrants from across the plains—wasted and worn by the time they reached these last stages of the long and arduous journey—would fall victims to fiendish cruelty, and without some show of strength and prowess there would be grave danger, too, of a general conspiracy to overwhelm many of the outlying settlements of the Oregon community—if not the community as a whole. With hardly any warning and with no preparation Oregon was plunged into an Indian war.

The Treasurer's annual report, submitted on December 9 (the day after the announcement of the massacre), showed \$43.72 of cash on hand, while the scrip outstanding amounted to \$4,123.46.¹ The conditions precipitated by the massacre, however, called for immediate military activity. The Governor was forthwith ordered to raise and equip a company of riflemen not to exceed fifty men to occupy The Dalles, where was the first missionary station up the Columbia just beyond the mountains.² This action was taken by the Legislature on the same day that intelligence of the massacre was received. On the day following the company was en route for its destination. On the next day the Governor was authorized to raise a regiment of volunteers, not to exceed five hundred men, whose term of enlistment should be ten months, unless sooner discharged.³ The campaign would have to be conducted in a wilderness some two or three hundred miles from the Willamette Valley settlements. Such were the exigencies for which financial support must be forthcoming.

The same bill that authorized the raising of a regiment also appointed a loan commission, empowered to negotiate a loan not to exceed \$100,000 for sinews of war. It was authorized to pledge the faith of the Territory for the payment of the sum borrowed, payable in three years "unless sooner discharged by the United States Government." Be-

¹ Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 215.

² Idem, p. 223.

³ Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 49.

cause of the primitive character of their revenue system and the urgency of their needs, credit must be the sole recourse for means to secure military equipment, stores, and subsistence. The only depot of such supplies ready at hand—if it should be found available to them—was the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. Thither the loan commissioners immediately repaired and made their application for a loan, emphasizing the point that in the light of all precedents the National Government would not fail to assume all obligations incurred in the campaign undertaken. But the Chief Factor had no authority to deal in public securities⁴ and would have been compelled to refuse a loan had the commissioners been accredited to him by the United States Government itself. The loan commissioners were apprehensive of this, and in their application suggested a loan on private security as a minor alternative. On a note given by the Governor of the Territory and two of the commissioners as private individuals about a thousand dollars were received with which an outfit for the advance guard was obtained.⁵

Appeal was then made to the merchants and citizens of Oregon City, from whom some \$2,600 were secured.⁶ The Oregon Mission (Methodist) gave an additional \$1,000. The loans could be either of gold and silver “or such goods as may be necessary for the use of the army.”⁷ And, as later provided, when a new commission was appointed, it was given power “to appoint appraisers whenever it shall be necessary to affix the cash value of any article or articles which may be accepted by them for the use of the Government.”⁸

4 Brown's History of the Provisional Government, p. 328.

5 Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 332-3.

6 Idem.

7 Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 49.

8 Idem, p. 53.

No additional or higher taxes were levied.⁹ The military operations were to be prepared for and sustained from credit funds, or rather credit supplies alone. The campaign and the war was brought to a successful termination on this basis. But the main agency for securing the means of support of the army from the people was not to be the loan commission—though it performed creditable service. It was the Commissary General with his staff of assistants that procured the major portion of the military stores and subsistence directly from the people. The amount of bonds issued by the loan commission aggregated \$14,761.75.¹⁰ The amount of liabilities created by the Commissary General and his agents can not be definitely determined, but it was at least twice that created by the loan commission.¹¹

The difference in the procedures employed in securing funds or goods by these two agencies was that the loan commission would issue bonds in payment of what it secured and would then deliver its funds or supplies on requisitions by the Commissary General. On the other hand, this official, in getting means directly from citizens, would simply give receipts or due bills.

The privates and non-commissioned officers were to receive a dollar and fifty cents per day. Each must furnish his own horse and equipment.¹² There was no specification as to the amount of the pay of the commissioned officers until nearly two years after the war had closed. The Legislative Assembly of the Territory then declared "that the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, who served in the Cayuse War, shall receive the same compensation for their services that is allowed to such officers in the regular service

9 An act was passed aiming to effect a more thorough collection of existing taxes. Oregon Archives, Laws, pp. 54-5.

10 Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 286-8.

11 The reports of the Commissary General as given in the Oregon Archives are to be found at the close of this chapter. Some analysis of them is there attempted. As it was the firm expectation that all of the accounts of this war would have to be audited for payment through a national appropriation they were never fully brought into the records of the Territory or State.

12 Oregon Archives, Laws, pp. 12-13.

of the Army of the United States.”¹³ These acts pertaining to the pay of privates and officers were, however, merely declarations. There was no provision on the part of the Territory for carrying them out. The Governor in his message to the Legislature on February 5, 1849, referred to the urgency and stress of wants of the common soldier and urged an issue of scrip to each for the amount due him. He thought faith in the likelihood of the National Government’s paying the expenses of the war would enable the holders to realize something for their services.¹⁴

It is to be remembered that the operations of the Cayuse War were carried on before the currency stringency had been relieved through the discovery and mining of gold in California. Scrip, wheat, and merchants’ orders were still the main reliance for a medium of exchange in all business and other economic transactions. The total amount of cash received for carrying on the war was \$2,885.02, the amount paid out was \$2,811.15½.¹⁵ The total liabilities incurred were something over \$175,000. From the anomalous status of the Provisional Government and its previous rather pusillanimous financial policy on the one hand, and the patriotic public spirit hampered by the primitive economic and monetary facilities on the other hand, there were some rather unique transactions to record. The Rev. H. H. Spalding, a

13 Local laws of the second session of the Legislative Assembly, p. 41.

14 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 273.

He submitted the report of the Adjutant General along with his message. The pay of the privates and non-commissioned officers in accordance with the act passed December 28, 1847, allowing one dollar and fifty cents per day, amounted to \$109,311.50. He put his recommendation as to the pay of the privates in the following words: “One thing connected with war department needs attending to. It is well known that the volunteers endured much fatigue and hardship, and suffered many privations while prosecuting the war, and, as many of them wish to avail themselves of the funds due them to supply their immediate wants, I would recommend that a law be passed authorizing scrip to be issued, redeemable as early as possible for the amount due each individual, and bearing interest until paid. It has been supposed that the United States Government would pay the expenses of this war; and I see no reason to doubt it, as it was entered into for the protection of American citizens. This will induce persons to purchase the scrip, and enable the holders to realize something for their services.”

15 Report of Commissary General, Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 329.

missionary colleague of Dr. Whitman's, contributed \$500 to send a deputation to California to solicit aid from representatives of the National Government there.¹⁶ Three notes were given by private individuals, amounting in all to \$2,800, to provide means for the support of the war.¹⁷ The Commissary General, if he had kept within the bounds prescribed for him by the financial legislation for the war, would have been compelled to confine himself to making requisitions on the loan commission and receiving the funds and other property they delivered to him. However, he and his agents not only bought goods outright, giving receipts and due bills when they had no cash in hand, but they even "pressed the wheat of certain farmers whose granaries were better filled than their neighbors'.¹⁸

The circumstances connected with the sending of a messenger to Washington bearing dispatches to the President and a memorial to Congress, exhibit some typical experi-

16 Letter Book of Governor Abernethy, letter dated January 25, 1848.

17 Letter of Jesse Applegate quoted by Brown in History of Provisional Government, pp. 330-1. The notes given were as follows:

(a) for \$999.59, signed by Geo. Abernethy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy.

(b) for \$1,000, signed by Daniel Waldo and Jesse Applegate.

(c) for \$800, signed by Neil Gilliam and Joel Palmer.

When the United States Government assumed the payment of the Cayuse War expenses the notes were presented by their holders and were paid and then returned to their makers.

18 Oregon Archives MS. A. J. Hembree (one of the Commissary General's agents) mentions having in February, 1848, pressed one hundred and eighty-seven and one-half bushels of wheat belonging to Jesse Applegate; also eleven bushels from Samuel Campbell, fifteen bushels from Andrew Smith, fifteen from Pleasant Armstrong, seventeen from Ed. Stone, six and one-half from A. Beers, and one hundred and thirty-five from Ben Williams.

The following letter from the Oregon Archives MS., throws so much light on the inside history of the methods of financiering of the Cayuse War and the conditions under which it was done that it should be quoted in full:

Polk, County, Oregon, 27th April, 1848.

Dear Sir: I have just had an interview with Mr. Fulkerson, [one of the commissary general's collecting agents] who informs me that you have become distrustful of the policy of the wheat loan, and have instructed him to cease operations in that matter whenever he had raised an amount sufficient to secure to me payment for the beef cattle he purchased of me for the use of the army. As I do not wish that you should assume a responsibility on my account that you deem unsafe, I have taken this opportunity to inform you that unless the plan of taking up wheat notes is made a general practice, I do not wish any notes taken up for my exclusive benefit.

I am myself in favor of raising a revenue by direct taxation, as I consider that method as the only fair and equitable plan of distributing the burden of this unlucky war among the people who are equally interested in its mainten-

ences of this war. The person¹⁹ selected for this service, a former mountain trapper, resigned his seat in the Legislature on December 17,²⁰ and proceeded with the army into the country of the hostile tribe, as that was on the line of the overland trail. On the night of the 4th of March following, with a half dozen companions, he left the army and struck out across plateaus and mountains, where winter storms still reigned and the snows had melted just enough to make the passage most difficult. With blanket and rifle to each man, but without horses to go round, they accomplished the journey, reaching the Missouri early in May. On the 29th

ance. But as the wheat plan has been partially tried, and has been favorably received by the people, and as it is the immediate offspring of the commander in the field, and has the approval of the executive and the loan commissioners, I do not think it should be lightly abandoned. Because those who have given notes already have done so under the supposition that all would be called to do the same; that it was actually a tax without the odious feature of compulsion, and they are the more willing to contribute in this shape to the wants of the Government, as it is anticipated by the people generally that ultimately a tax will be levied upon them against which their voluntary contributions will be an offset. If the plan is now abandoned those who have given notes will have just cause to complain that they have been induced to do so under a misunderstanding, and will not be likely to incommode themselves much in the discharge of such obligations.

As it regards the increased responsibility to yourself by adhering to this plan of raising means, I can not for my life see that you can any more suffer in pocket or character than from any other which you have been forced to adopt in the successful discharge of your duties. You know that a rigid construction of your duties as commissary general limits you to the bare investment of the means placed in your hands; but our pecuniary embarrassments have been such that you have been forced to supply the army without means, and while your opponents cry out that by seizing provisions, borrowing money, and buying property as commissary general, your acts were extra official; yet by taking this responsibility alone, you have so far been able to furnish the army and keep them in the field; and by your great exertions and perseverance in these unlawful acts you have gained the good will of the people they so much envy.

The office-seekers, of course, wish your downfall and will compass it if they can; not because they have discovered faults in you, but on the contrary, they fear the people may duly appreciate the ability you have displayed, and the great personal sacrifices you have made in their service; and if they can by alarming your fears, drive you to abandon a policy which so far has been successful, and obtain for you the character of vacillation [sic] and uncertainty, they will succeed in their object, which is to deprive you of the confidence of the people, and which once lost is scarcely ever regained.

If you have the right to make purchases and receive property, your right to receive money or property of any kind that can be made available to the use of the army is certainly unquestionable; so I think the only question with you to decide is as to the policy of the measure. If you think it will be for the good of the community to adopt it, carry it out to the fullest extent; if you decide against its utility abandon it at once, and undo if you can what has been done in the matter. For my part, I would not touch a note obtained from my neighbor for my exclusive benefit, and at the expense of the disgrace of a friend.

Sincerely your well-wisher,

Jesse Applegate.

Also quoted by Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor in her *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, pp. 200-2.

19 Joseph L. Meek. His exploits are narrated in Mrs. Victor's *River of the West*.

20 Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 334.

of the same month President Polk laid before Congress the dispatches he bore, with a special message on Oregon affairs.²¹ The financial backing for all this undertaking was an appropriation of \$1,000—passed in two acts of \$500 each—in the form of an authorization “to negotiate” loans for that amount with the power “to pledge the faith of the Government for the payment of them, *provided*, that before executing bonds on the part of the Oregon Government, he shall enter into security to the executive, in the amount of one thousand dollars.” It was also provided that “said messenger shall receive as full compensation for his services, such sum or sums as the Government of the United States shall think proper to allow.”²²

It is thus clear that the hazardous policy of financiering a war solely with credit by a government already badly involved when the war began—having failed to meet the demands upon it in times of peace in a business-like way²³—was not disastrous mainly because of the patriotic spirit of its people. Means to prosecute the war were all secured on patriotic loans. The people seem to have had little difficulty in identifying the needs of the Government as their own.

Consciousness of financial weakness, while making the Government cautious, did not deter it from undertaking any military movement deemed advisable, nor did it frustrate any undertaken. It did not hinder the strengthening of the forces in the field when occasion seemed to demand it.²⁴ Hardships were suffered in exposure and in lack of sufficient

21 Victor's *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 180.

22 Oregon Archives, Laws, pp. 9 and 11. The act establishing the territorial government of Oregon passed August 14, 1848, appropriated ten thousand dollars “to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States in payment for the services and expenses of the persons engaged by the Provisional Government of Oregon in conveying communications to and from the United States, and the purchase of presents for such of the Indian tribes as the peace and quietude of the country requires.”

23 See “Statistical Abstract” No. 2, in the Appendix to the Finances of the Provisional Government.

24 See Governor Abernethy's proclamation, December 25, 1847. (Printed in Victor's “*Early Indian Wars of Oregon*,” pp. 144-5.)

food, but not to the degree to demoralize the spirit of the army.²⁵

The Oregon people, possessed of but scantiest resources and provided with but the flimsiest financial organization made shift to bring to successful issue the contingencies developed by the Cayuse outbreak. It was, however, some exceedingly effective diplomacy that prevented the crisis from developing its most ominous portendings. There was some danger that this affair might become the signal for a race conflict for the possession of this section of the country. An injudicious procedure, too, might have prevented the co-operation of the English and American dwellers in this land. It thus behooved the Provisional Government to have the other strong tribes of the Upper Columbia pledged to remain at peace, and to enlist the aid of the representatives of the Hudson Bay Company. It must divide the Indians and unite the whites. The first it did through a wisely selected peace commission that succeeded in dissuading the formidable tribes in the neighborhood of the offending Cayuses from casting their lot with those who were harboring assassins.

To appreciate the degree of merit due to winning at least the attitude of friendliness and co-operation on the part of the Hudson Bay Company people and in having that fact impressed upon the Indians it is necessary to note the conflict of interests with regard to relations with the Indians between the fur company and the agricultural settlers of the Willamette Valley. One prospered through the profit gained from traffic with the Indians, while it was the interest of the other to have them removed and to have the least contact possible with them. This contrast of interests as to relations with the Indians was paralleled and reinforced by the fact that the Catholic missionaries were affiliated with

²⁵ Letter of Jesse Applegate to S. F. Chadwick, dated November 8, 1877. Quoted by Brown in his *History of the Provisional Government*, p. 329. "We had no mutinies, sections [sic] or strikes in our little army, though both officers and men served without pay and frequently without food, lean horse meat being a luxury."

the Hudson Bay Company people and the Protestant with the Americans. The rivalry between these was at some points quite keen. Notwithstanding these divergencies of interests and the restrictive orders placed upon those in charge at Fort Vancouver, compelling them to refuse aid to public needs and "to stick to their beavers," there was such co-operation as to disabuse the Indians of any hope of an ally.

The absolute lack of means of defense would have been criminal under other circumstances. But we must remember that some eighteen months had elapsed since the treaty of Washington had replaced the status of joint occupation with that of exclusive jurisdiction of the American Government. The Oregonians were fully cognizant of their right to protection against savage foes. A regiment of mounted riflemen to patrol the route to Oregon and establish posts had been ordered raised, but had been diverted to Mexico. After the war it was returned to Fort Leavenworth and its decimated ranks filled with raw recruits and started westward in 1849.²⁶ It arrived in Oregon in the fall of that year, but the war was over. While the murderers had not been apprehended their tribe had been reduced to such straits that they soon gave themselves up. Further military demonstration against it had not been necessary. Thus the isolated little Oregon community, despite the fact that protection had long been overdue to it, had borne the brunt of a crisis. It had struck promptly and boldly when hesitation would have been interpreted as weakness and might have induced a conspiracy to overwhelm it. In a large sense the Cayuse War had been caused by the dilatoriness of the National Government in assuming responsibility of protecting American citizens. Dr. Whitman, in waiting for the long-promised aid from it, had delayed too long a movement to leave the Cayuse country.

²⁶ Oregon Spectator, September 3 and 17, 1846, and Victor's "Early Indian Wars of Oregon," pp. 236-49.

The Oregon Government did not fail to try every expedient in which there was the slightest promise of aid. Prompt appeals were made to the Governor of California, to the commander of the American squadron in the Pacific, and the American consul at Honolulu. These altogether yielded some arms and ammunition, received after the danger had passed.²⁷ Yet the possession of them gave a sense of security in the fall and winter of 1849, when most of the Oregon fighting population had gone in the exodus to the California gold mines.

Special care was exercised in the financial legislation to segregate the expenses directly or indirectly due to the war from those for the support of the civil establishment under the Provisional Government. The war had been undertaken for the protection of American citizens against a savage foe and they were firm in their conviction that it belonged to the National Government to bear the expenses of it.²⁸ Under the circumstances in which the means for the support of the war had been secured the evidences of claims needed prompt and careful auditing. Accordingly the Legislature of the Provisional Government on February 16, 1849, passed an act appointing a commission "to settle and adjust the claims against the Government on account of and growing out of the Cayuse War,"²⁹ but as Governor Lane and the other territorial appointees arrived about two weeks later, all officials who held from the Provisional Government no longer had standing. The territorial Legislature a few months later (August 31) provided for a similar commission, which

27 Letter Book of Governor Abernethy, and Oregon Archives MSS.

28 The claims of the commission to negotiate loans and those on account of the extra services required in the executive department because of the war were referred to the commission auditing the general war accounts. (Oregon Archives, Journals, p. 317.) The only exception to this policy was the authorization of the issue of territorial scrip to the amount of \$750 for the benefit of Jason Wheeler, "as a full compensation for time and expenses occasioned by his being wounded in the Cayuse War." (Oregon Archives, Laws, p. 65.)

29 Oregon Archives, Laws, pp. 56-8.

was continued until all the claims were audited.³⁰ On the 2d day of December, 1850, the territorial Legislature memorialized Congress for an appropriation equal to "the sum estimated by the 'Commissioner on Cayuse War claims.' " Claims to the amount of \$87,230.53 had then been audited and the Commissioner estimated the probable expense of the war at \$150,000.³¹ On February 14, 1851, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for this purpose. By February 3, 1854, claims to the amount of \$96,775.41 had been paid. On December 17, 1853, the territorial Legislature, by joint resolution, requested its "delegate in Congress to urge upon Congress the propriety and justice of the further appropriation of \$75,000" to pay the cost of the war and the expense necessarily incurred in determining such cost.³² On July 27, 1854, Congress appropriated the "further sum of \$75,000 to pay the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the Provisional Government of Oregon in defending the people of said Territory from the attacks and hostilities of Cayuse Indians, and for such allowances for the expenses of adjusting the claims on that account as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem proper not exceeding \$5 per day to each commissioner." By the terms of this act the claims had to be presented in the next fiscal year. However, on March 3, 1857, the time for presenting claims was extended.³³ Through these two appropriations the people of Oregon were fairly well reimbursed for the financial losses sustained in the prosecution of the Cayuse War.³⁴

30 Journal of House of Representatives, during first session of Legislative Assembly, p. 24.

31 Oregon Spectator, January 2, 1851.

32 Executive Docs., First Sess. 33d Cong., Vol. 8, 1853-54, Doc. No. 45, pp. 1-8.

33 U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 10 (1854-5) p. 311.

34 Mrs. Victor in her *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 262, says: "Some private claims have been paid from time to time. There remained until the present decade (90's) only a bill for the relief of Captain Lawrence Hall's company, which was in the hands of Senator Mitchell, Captain William E. Birkhimer, of the United States Army, having been designated to examine the accounts, who found in favor of their payment."

STATISTICAL NOTE.

The financial statistics in the volumes of the Oregon Archives pertaining to the Cayuse war may be grouped as follows:

- (a) The reports of the loan commissions.
- (b) The reports of the Assistant Adjutant General, and of Acting Commissary-General.
- (c) The reports of the Commissioners on Cayuse war claims.

(a) The report of the first loan commission (Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 332-3) gives loans, but not definitively, aggregating about \$2,600. Two of the commission and the Governor had also become personally responsible for an additional \$999.59. The report for the second commission, made by Hugh Burns (Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 286-8) gives the aggregate amount of bonds issued as \$14,761.75.

(b) The Assistant Adjutant General on December 1, 1848 (Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 326-7), reported the amount due the privates and non-commissioned officers for their services in the war as \$109,311.50.

The following are the reports of the acting Commissary General. They are without dates and must be seen to be appreciated. (They are given in the form in which they appear in the Oregon Archives, Journals, pp. 327-30.)

A.

Report of the Commissary and Quartermaster Generals,

Showing the amount of Liabilities created by the Commissary, Quartermaster, and Ordnance Departments, in the war between the Territory of Oregon and the Cayuse Indians; Classed as under:

Aggregate of stationery	\$ 144.88½
“ “ camp equipage	799.58
“ “ horses, &c.	1,927.00
“ “ saddlery	732.63
“ “ arms and repairs	1,319.00
“ “ ammunition	827.21½
“ “ merchandize	4,060.44½
“ “ transportation, creating Fort Gilliam included.....	5,220.41½
“ “ subsistence	14,412.73½
“ “ ferriage ..	683.92
“ “ medical department	396.07
“ “ commissary's assistants, agents, expenses, office rent, forage for volunteers' horses, &c	1,139.07½
“ “ premium on cash payments	74.27
“ “ Indian agency	254.18½
“ “ California expedition	551.70
“ “ interest account	23.69
“ “ smithing and saddle-making	732.63
Total liabilities adjusted	\$33,300.04½

Unadjusted liabilities when settled to be added to their respective accounts.

Merchandise, (from Cashes,) [sic]

Geo. Abernethy's account,

Hudson Bay Co's account, (a small balance)

Blacksmiths—	Jason Wheeler,	days at
	Joseph W. Downer,	“ “
	W. T. Nanvoorst,	“ “
	David Weston,	“ “
	J. M. Johns,	“ “
Saddlers—	S. S. Duffield,	“ “
	J. R. Payne,	“ “
	Wm. Martin	“ “
Commissary's department—	A. E. Wait,	“ “
	J. D. Crawfords,	“ “
	H. A. Smith	“ “
	S. H. Goodhue,	“ “
	J. Keller,	“ “
	— Johnson,	“ “
	W. H. Reese,	“ “
	J. Force,	“ “
Qr. master's department—	B. Jennings,	“ “
	C. W. Cooke,	“ “
	Jno. Fleming,	“ “
	Jas. Taylor,	“ “
	A. A. Robinson,	“ “
Ordnance—	A. C. R. Shaw,	“ “
	D. H. Lownsdale,	“ “
	S. J. Gardner,	“ “
Wagon master—	Henry Worden	“ “

Total,

\$.....

Lot Whitcomb,

Acting Commissary-General.

To A. E. Wilson, Adj't. General.

B.

Report of the Commissary and Quarter-Master Generals,

Showing the amount of Disbursements in the Commissary, Quartermaster, and Ordinance Departments, in the war between the Territory of Oregon and the Cayuse Indians, as per vouchers on file in this office.

Amount paid for stationery.....	\$	1.12 ½
“ “ “ ammunition		15.95
“ “ “ arms and repairs		
“ “ “ transportation		437.77
“ “ “ horse account		15,444.00
“ “ “ merchandise		4,256.08
“ “ “ saddlery		
“ “ “ subsistence		2,947.91 ½
“ “ “ medical department		
“ “ “ California expedition		551.70
	\$	

Total amount of cash received from	
loan commissioners	1,525.89
Deduct discount on sovereigns	5.56
	<hr/>
	\$1,520.33
Amount received from other sources for	
which commissary's due bills are issued.....	1,364.69
	<hr/>
Total amount of cash received.....	\$2,885.02
“ “ “ “ paid out per vouchers.....	2,811.15½
	<hr/>
Charge J. Palmer's private account.....	\$ 73.86½
This department has drawn orders on the loan com-	
missioners from No. 1 to No. 207 inclusive.	
Cash included	\$16,127.33½
Commissary due bills (outstanding) about.....	5,301.00
The amount of subsistence when the returns are	
fully made, will not be far from.....	\$11,464.00

There is remaining in the hands of the commissary-general the following:
 At Ft. Wascopam about 60 head of spanish cattle; at forts Wascopam and Waters about 25 horses; in the valley about 40 head of cattle, 8 or 10 horses, 6 kegs of powder, 4 large kegs of powder, 1 box caps, 4 rifles, 26 muskets, 1 shot-gun, lead, balls, shot, 1 tent, 5 sickles, 10 hoes, 4 hand-saws, 1 broad-axe, 1 adze, 1 fine saw, 1 cross-cut saw, 1 spade, 16 camp kettles, 2 frying-pans, 8 spoons, 9 tin pans, 10 plates, and 3 coffee pots.

The several accounts of camp equipage, arms, and repairs, and saddling, owing to reports from proper officers not being full on those accounts, and the transactions of the disbursing officers as yet are unsettled, renders it impossible to state the precise amount of articles lost and worn out in the service, consequently prevents at present being stated the amount paid by each. There are vouchers in this office covering the total amount of cost, when added to the amount in hand.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Joel Palmer,

Per Lot Witcomb, A. C. G.

To A. E. Wilson, Acting Adjutant-General.

(c) The reports of the commissioners on Cayuse war claims are in the form of lists of the names of persons to whom claims have been awarded, with the sum total awarded on the claims of each. They are found in the appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives during the Fourth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly, pp. 23-6 (1852); and the appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives during the Fifth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly, pp. 12-14 (1853.)

NOTES

“The Jason Lee Memorial Souvenir Volume,” compiled by Professor F. H. Grubbs, makes a very attractive book. Its main contents are made up of the addresses delivered at the memorial services held on the occasion of the re-interment of the remains of Jason Lee in the Lee Missionary Cemetery, Salem, June 15. An account of the movement for re-interment is given. A copy of the programme of the memorial services is reproduced. Extracts from letters that passed between Oregon missionaries of the American Board and of the Methodist Episcopal Board are included. These exhibit kindest fraternal feelings and fitly illustrate the example set among the missionaries by the genial Jason Lee.

The historic Lee Missionary Cemetery is described and the genealogy of the Lee family given. The other most appropriate features of the volume in addition to its illustrations are expressions quoted from Indians that had come under the influence of Lee and his co-workers. These from White Swan, a chief of the Yakimas, Elippama and Luxillo, given many years after their contact with the missionaries, are corroborative of a lasting and transforming influence. Most appropriate also is the letter of Anna Maria Pittman Lee to her brother written from the “Mission House” on the Willamette, October 26, 1837, as well as that of Lucy Thompson Lee when about to go on board of the Lausanne at New York on October 7, 1839.

A picture of Jason Lee, and cuts of the “Mission House” on the Willamette, the “Mission House” built at Salem, in 1842, “The Oregon Institute” and “The Mission Cemetery” add materially to the value of the volume. It is for sale by the J. K. Gill Co. Price \$1.00.

"The Washington Historical Quarterly," Vol. 1, No. 1, issued by the Washington University State Historical Society, appeared in October. Professor Edmond S. Meany is the managing editor assisted by a large board of editors. The Quarterly has departments for original papers, for documents, for reviews, for news and for reprints. The original papers are:

"Washington Nomenclature," by J. N. Bowman; "Problems of the Pacific," by Stephen B. L. Penrose; "Jason Lee's Place in History," by Harvey W. Scott; "The Cayuse, or First Indian War in the Northwest," by Clarence W. Bagley; "Diary of David S. Maynard While Crossing the Plains in 1859," by Thomas W. Prosch; "Some Evidences of the Influence of Politics on the Efficiency of the Army, 1861-65," by Edward McMahon. A reprint of George Wilkes' History of Oregon, Geographical and Political, is begun.

The third annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at Portland on November 30 and December 1. The following papers were presented: "Cook's Place in Northwest History," by Professor J. N. Bowman; "Origin of British Interest in the Northwest," by Professor Joseph Schafer; "The Finances of the Cayuse War," by Professor F. G. Young; "Suggestions on the History of the Federal Relations of the States," by Professor C. A. Duniway; "Some Considerations on the History of Spain and Spanish America in the 18th Century," by Mr. Don E. Smith; "Criticism of American Historical Documents," by Professor Max Farrand. There were several interesting discussions of the points brought out in the papers. The meetings were arranged for by the Oregon Historical Society and the banquet given under its auspices at the Hotel Portland was a very enjoyable social event. Our visitors considered this their best meeting so far held and Hon. William D. Fenton was elected president of the organization.

REVIEWS

Letters From An Oregon Ranch. By KATHERINE. (Published by A. C. McClurg & Co. Chicago. For sale by J. K. Gill Co.)

"Morning and evening the hills throw welcome shadows."

Many will recall the delicious humor of "Elizabeth," whose letters from "The Pointed Firs" were published from time to time in the Oregonian. Later, they were collected into book form and brought out under the title, "Letters from an Oregon Ranch," by Katherine. Now "Katherine" is "Elizabeth," and "Elizabeth" is "Katherine," and the book belongs to the very small flock of "Oregon Classics." Would you live again an evening by an Oregon fireside with the rain dripping outside, would you see an Oregon Spring in bridal beauty dressed, would you know the mysteries of Oregon hillside and woodland, of waterfall and brooklet, read Katherine-Elizabeth. This charming book with its laughable associations, its pathos and its native art, its poesy and its prose, is really the high water mark of Oregon literary achievement. No library of the Pacific Northwest can claim to be up to date without this volume, beautiful in tint and print, in holiday dress and filled with the delicate perfume of pear and plum and apple blossoms. In it we hear again the carol of blue jays and wild canaries, in short, it is the Oregon book. If the East knows little of Oregon and cares less, if Oregon herself ignores her artists with pen and brush, where then shall come our place on the literary map of the nation? When something so really precious lies unheralded on the shop shelves, and our Christmas shoppers load up with cheap eastern novels, one might be pardoned for encouraging all authors to move back to "the effete east" where at least literature finds its author recognition. As a matter of loyalty every Oregonian should own a copy of the inimitable Katherine-Elizabeth's "Letters from an Oregon Ranch."

Eva Emery Dye.

McDonald of Oregon. A tale of Two Shores. By EVA EMERY DYE. (Chicago. A. C. McClurg & Co. 1906. Pp. 395.)

A tremendous task is essayed in this book, for the sub-title, "A Tale of Two Shores," more truly indicates its scope than does its main title. The four parts to the work are given as "The Fur Traders"

(of the Pacific Northwest), "Beyond the Border" (of the settled portion of the Mississippi valley), "Japan," and "Kamiakin" (the head-chief or the Yakimas). What but a medley would one expect from such an aggregation of parts! And yet there is a unity, if not bodied forth, at least shadowed out, in this work. Its theme is nothing less than the meeting on the Columbia and in Japan of the vanguard representatives of the eastward-moving and the westward-moving races. Mrs. Dye contends that the American Indian tribes were off-shoots of the Japanese stock and does not tire in pointing out anthropological, ethnological and philological parallels among these peoples—and she finds not a few that seem significant. Incidents in the great westward streaming of the English speaking peoples and in the interflow of the races reaching even to the shores of Japan constitute the bulk of the volume. These are given as vividly and as picturesquely as only Mrs. Dye can.

The unique and original contribution that Mrs. Dye makes in this book to the literature of the "Westward Movement" is the story of Ranald McDonald. His name thus fitly figures in the title, though that account comprises but a minor portion of the book. Ranald was the son of Archibald McDonald, a chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, and of a daughter of Cumcumly, a head-chief of the Chinooks. His childhood was spent at different posts of that Company in the Pacific Northwest. He was educated at St. John's Academy at Red River and became a clerk in a bank at St. Thomas, Ontario. But the heredity of a Scotch Highland father and of an Indian mother was not to be held in restraint. He resolved "to break into Japan," and with an exploit that involved most daring and reckless ventures he succeeded. He not only saved himself where others paid with their lives the penalty of violating the mystery of Japan, but also instructed his Japanese attendants so that a few years later these could interpret for Commodore Perry in his forced negotiations for the opening of the harbors of Japan to the world. Furthermore it is claimed for Ranald McDonald that he was "the instigator of Perry's expedition" and more particularly that Perry's equipment of working models of all the more important inventions of western ingenuity with which he was able to set up a small exposition when he landed was solely the suggestion of McDonald.

While the story of Ranald McDonald and of the subsequent expedition of Perry are the distinctive features of the book, Mrs. Dye made it serve for a grand resume of the results of her explorations in the whole range of early Oregon history. In it she "touches the high places" in the progress of events from the coming of the Hudson Bay Company fur traders (1823) to the close of the Yakima War (1856). Mrs. Dye has genius for ferreting out blood relationships.

With these ties of kinship and with the most startling coincidences of time and place that she unearths she integrates our Pacific Northwest history. This is the second fine service performed with this book.

"McDonald of Oregon," then, has a grand conception underlying it. It contains an important piece of research and in it we have a summation of Oregon's history from "the eternally feminine" point of view. The novice in Oregon history will be bewildered by its amazing flights and transitions. Some day, however, when all landmarks in Oregon history are matters of common knowledge and when its chief incidents are household stories, this book will be widely read with the delight that attends the revelation of unnumbered relationships before unperceived.

Dr. Owens-Adair. Some of her life experiences. (Portland: Mann and Beach, Printers. For sale by The J. K. Gill Co. 1906. Pp. 537.)

These "gleanings from a pioneer woman's physician's life" are declared to have a two-fold purpose:

First, to assist in the preservation of the early history of Oregon; second, through the story of her life and selections from her writings "to show how the pioneer woman labored and struggled to gain an entrance into the various avenues of industry and to make it respectable to earn her honest bread by the side of her brother, man."

Dr. Owens-Adair has earned the deepest gratitude of every true Oregonian in making this record of her life. This candid and graphic account of the intimate life experiences of so representative a pioneer woman is simply invaluable. It is the story of a life keyed to the pitch of heroism in the pursuit of a noble aim. Withal it is in a style that makes it delightful reading.

Following the autobiography and taking up nearly three-fourths of the book are found letters from her friends, Jesse Applegate and Stephen F. Chadwick, biographical sketches of many of the leading pioneers of Clatsop County, Dr. Owens-Adair's contributions to the press in promotion of the causes of public health and prohibition and discussions of physical culture, woman suffrage, heredity and social welfare. There is pervading the volume from beginning to end the finest spirit and enthusiasm as a champion of large and advanced ideas that affect our destiny as a nation. So much of moral tonic is in the book that a second edition, of appropriate compass and arrangement, adapting it to a wider public, would be highly desirable.

Cathlamet on the Columbia. Recollections of the Indian People and Short Stories of Early Pioneer Days in the Valley of the Lower Columbia. By THOMAS NELSON STRONG. (Portland. Holly Press. 1906. pp. 119.)

This is a "gem of purest ray serene." The stories mainly centering around life in the Indian village of Cathlamet and in the pioneer settlements in its vicinity "may be," says their author, "in themselves of little worth, and yet may help future generations of our children to better understand the life and atmosphere of a peculiar time, to better appreciate the crimson and the gold, and mayhap a little of the gray of the morning hour of the white man's day on the Pacific Coast."

They are told with exquisite charm, and of this book it can with confidence be said, what so far can be claimed for but few, that it is a permanent part of Oregon literature. One feels intuitively that the conceptions obtained from it of Indian life and character and of pioneer conditions and experience will not some day need revision. In substance, it is all pure gold, and in form it is polished so that it shines.

A Pioneer of Fifty-three. By MRS. S. WATSON HAMILTON. (Albany, Oregon. The Herald Press. 1905. Pp. 139.)

Experiences of a pioneer family crossing the plains told in verse have the attraction of novelty. The author penetrates to the inner life and deeper motives of the pioneer movement. A stately dignity characterizes the narrative throughout. The author succeeds at least well enough with the form of poetry to suggest that the Oregon migrations will yet afford the theme for some of our grandest poetic productions. There is the highest degree of effectiveness in her art when picturing critical situations in the progress of migration. The following ideas and incidents are typical of what Mrs. Hamilton's memory recalls and her pen now portrays: The considerations from which came the resolve of an Iowa farmer to undertake the journey to Oregon; the scene when the ties of home and neighborhood are broken; the first actual camping experience; the strange exhibitions of human nature on the plains where there was no organized authority; the extrication of a small band of pioneers from a trap into which they had been led by Indians; lost for weeks among the lakes of south central Oregon when winter was at hand and the snow-covered mountains were yet to be crossed, though ox-teams were weak, supplies exhausted and father and mother almost helpless through illness; the scene in the snow at the crest of the Cascade mountains where a train of wagons was stalled in a canyon and compelled to

stand all night in harness with no camp and no food for man or beast. Many such trials, hardships and tragedies are depicted leading to a climax intensely interesting. All this was suffered because they had challenged fate in setting out for a climate salubrious and free from frost and storm and free from toil necessary to prepare for winter's need and where ample farms were awaiting free.

ACCESSIONS

For the quarter ending September 30, 1906.

DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS.

Railroad Interests of Oregon; an address by Thomas R. Cornelius to the Oregon Legislature and the people of Oregon upon the controversy between the "Oregon Central Railroad Company, East Side," and the "Oregon Central Railroad Company, West Side," Salem, Oregon, October 13, 1868. Broadside.

Mortgage executed by William Garwood to W. L. Higgins on Lot 8, Block 47, City of Portland, for \$1,000, on September 28, 1852, before Anthony L. Davis, justice of the peace. The instrument was recorded by W. S. Caldwell in Washington County October 25, 1853.

Quit-Claim Deed of James H. A. Mills to Patrick Raleigh, conveying Lot 7, Block 47, conveying his title for the sum of \$100.

Quit-Claim Deed of Dorsey S. Baker to Mills for the above premises, in consideration of payment of \$100.

Deed of D. H. Lownsdale, town proprietor of Portland, to Horace W. Peabody, of the brig Seguin, conveying Lot 6, Block 47, on July 2, 1850, for \$110.

Deed of Horace W. Peabody to Patrick Raleigh, conveying the same lot.

Deed of W. L. Higgins to William Garwood, conveying Lot 8, Block 47, on September 28, 1852.

History of Indian Affairs among the Nez Perces. A series of seven letters by Rev. H. H. Spaulding, printed in *The Pacific*, San Francisco, Cal., May 25 to July 6, 1865.

Early Missionary Labors among the Indians of Oregon. A series of four letters by Rev. H. H. Spaulding, printed in *The Pacific* September 14, 28, October 19, November 9, 1865.

The sub-titles of these letters are as follows: I—"The First Two White Women who Crossed the Mountains." II—"Two Missionary Ladies Save this Coast to the U. S. A." III—"Dr. Whitman's Winter Journey." IV—"Dr. Whitman's Successful Mission at Washington."

(These letters mark the beginning of the controversy respecting the relation of Dr. Marcus Whitman in saving Oregon.)

(The foregoing letters were copied and carefully compared with the originals under the direction of William I. Marshall, principal of the Gladstane public school, Chicago, and presented to the Society by him.)

Diary of W. C. Hembree, from October 16, 1855, beginning with the organization of Company E, First Regiment Oregon Mounted Volunteers, at Lafayette, Oregon, and closing with April —, 1856, when the company was discharged at Portland. (Gives numerous details of the winter campaign in Eastern Oregon in connection with the "Yakima Indian War.") Copied from the original by George H. Himes.

Address of the carrier of the Oregonian to its patrons, January 1, 1852.

Washington's Inauguration, program of Centennial Celebration of, Portland, Oregon, April 30, 1889.

Gibbs, Addison C., Correspondence of, as war Governor of Oregon, 1862-1866, embracing the following:

460 letters, largely relating to military affairs in Oregon, contained in two letter books.

Monthly reports of A. C. R. Shaw, warden of the Oregon Penitentiary at Portland from December, 1862, to June 30, 1864.

60 applications for pardon.

260 letters relating to State land matters.

19 vouchers relating to military matters.

364 vouchers relating to purchases for the penitentiary.

22 letters and documents relating to the Union League in Oregon.

20 miscellaneous letters.

NEWSPAPERS.

Oregonian, Vol. I, March 22, April 12, May 17, June 7, July 5, 12, 19, 26, August 2, 9, 16, September 6, 13, 20, 27, October 4, 25, 1851—seventeen copies. (This is an exceedingly important accession, as there is no part of the first volume of the Oregonian to be found anywhere outside of the rooms of the Historical Society. In addition to the foregoing the Society has the following copies: Of Vol I—No. 1, December 4, 1850; No. 20, April 19; No. 21, April 26; No. 22, May 3; No. 25, May 24; No. 29, June 21; No. 48, November 1—thus making a total of twenty-four copies of the first paper published in Portland. The Oregonian has no part of its first volume whatever, the file of that year having been loaned many years ago and never returned.)

Oregonian, Vol. 2—No. 1, December 6; No. 3, December 20 (two copies); No. 4, December 27, 1851; No. 5, January 3; No. 7, January 17; No. 8, January 24; No. 9, January 31; No. 10, February 7; No. 11,

February 14; No. 12, February 21; No. 13, February 28; No. 14, March 6; No. 15, March 13; No. 16, March 20; No. 17, March 27; No. 18, April 3; No. 20, April 17; No. 21, April 24; No. 22, May 1; No. 23, May 8; No. 24, May 13; No. 25, May 22; No. 26, May 29; No. 27; June 5; No. 28, June 12; No. 29, June 19; No. 30, June 26, 1852—twenty-seven copies.

Oregonian, 1853—27 copies; 1854—5 copies; 1855—9 copies; 1857—10 copies; 1858—13 copies; 1859—10 copies; 1860—1 copy; 1861—1 copy. (All but the last two are duplicates of what the Society has in bound volumes.)

Astoria Marine Gazette, the first newspaper published at Astoria, as follows: Vol. 2, No. 13, November 7; No. 18, December 12, 1865; No. 27, February 12; No. 31, March 12; No. 34, April 2; No. 42, May 28; No. 50, July 30, 1866. Vol. 3, No. 6, September 24, 1866.

(The copies of the Oregonian and Marine Gazette, above alluded to, were secured for the Society from the heirs of Rev. Elkanah Walker and Mr. Alvin T. Smith, Forest Grove, by Prof. James R. Robertson, late professor of history in Pacific University.)

Oregon Statesman—Vol. 13, No. 36, November 2, 1863; also No. 37, November 16, 1863.

Oregon City Argus, Vol. 6, No. 25, September 29, 1860.

Christian Mirror, Vol. 27, No. 37, Portland, Maine, April 5, 1849.

BOOKS.

Naval Register, U. S., January 1, 1863. Washington, 1863. 870, Half Leather, 248 pp.

Navy, Report of Secretary of, December, 1862. Washington, 1863. 8vo, Paper, 530 pp.

Medical and Surgical Directory of the United States, 1866. 8vo, Cloth, 1452 pp. Autograph of Dr. R. Glisan.

Fisheries, Report of Pennsylvania State Commission on, for the year 1897. Harrisburg, Pa., 1897. 8vo, Cloth. Illustrated. 412 pp.

Baptist Annals of Oregon. 1844 to 1900. By Rev. C. H. Mattoon. Press of Register Publishing Company, McMinnville, Oregon, 1906. Vol. 1. 8vo, Cloth, 464 pp. Illustrated.

Boston Marine Society, Gleanings from the Records of, through its First Century, 1742 to 1842. Compiled by Nathaniel Spooner. Boston. Published by the Society. 1879. 12mo, Cloth, 192 pp.

Polk's Directory of Ashland, Medford, Jacksonville, Gold Hill, Central Point, Grants Pass, Roseburg, Drain, Oakland, and Yoncalla. Vol. 1, 1906. 8 mo, Boards, 590 pp.

PAMPHLETS.

Oregon National Guard, Roster of the Commissioned Officers of, July 8, 1905. 12mo, 12 pp.

— June 30, 1906. 8vo, 24 pp.

Almanac of the Washington Life Insurance Co. for 1892, containing the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. 8vo. Ill. 64 pp.

Auditor's Semi-Annual Report of Receipts and Disbursements, Multnomah County, for the six months ending June 30, 1904. 8vo, 22 pp.

— December 31, 1904. 8vo, 24 pp.

— June 30, 1905. 8vo, 24 pp.

— December 31, 1905. 8vo, 24 pp.

— June 30, 1906. 8vo, 24 pp.

Vallandigham, Clement L., of Ohio, speech of, on the "United States Note" Bill, in the House of Representatives, February 3, 1862. 8vo, 16 pp.

Dentistry: Incident in the Pioneer Practice of. An address by Dr. J. R. Caldwell before the Oregon State Dental Association. 8vo, 8 pp.

Oregon, Territory of. Journal of the House of Representatives, Legislative Assembly, third session, Salem, December 1, 1851. 8vo, 120 pp. Paper covers.

Spanish Press of California, The. 1833-1844. By Robert E. Cowan, San Francisco, Cal. 8vo, 12 pp. Reprinted by the author from the California Historic-Genealogical Society Publication III, and presented by him.

Militia Law of Oregon, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1862, and approved by the Governor on October 16, 1862. 8vo, 30 pp.

McCormick's Almanac, Portland, Oregon, 1856. Pamphlet, 12mo, 48 pp.

— 1873. 12mo, 72 pp, with cover.

— 1874. 12mo, 72 pp, with cover.

Drawings and data relating to a writing machine which Charles Beal Talbot was endeavoring to perfect in 1860.

Academic Journal, Vol. 9, No. 8, January, 1862. (Manuscript, letter size.) 26 pp. Written and edited by Charles Beal Talbot, a student in Portland Academy and Female Seminary.

"Memorabilia," by Charles Beal Talbot, July 16, 1860. Relating to inventions, etc.

RELICS.

Skillet. Brought to Oregon from Iowa, by Mr. and Mrs. John Wolverton, who crossed the plains in 1853 and settled in Polk County. Placed in the custody of the Society by the children of Mr. and Mrs. Wolverton, Judge Charles E. and Bruce Wolverton, Portland.

Hand Saw. Brought across the plains to California in 1849 by an immigrant, who sold it to Amasa Brooks for \$10. Brooks used it in San Francisco until 1852, when he removed to McMinnville. He used it while working at his trade until 1858, when he sold it to Collins A. Wallace for \$4. Presented by C. A. Wallace, Salem.

Blacksnake (whip.) Bought by Collins A. Wallace of S. Sherlock & Co., Portland, 1858, and used by him in driving cattle and sheep to Portland for many years.

Tongs. Brought across the plains to Oregon from Indiana by Alfred Stanton in 1847, who located a short distance east of Salem. Donated by his daughter, Mrs. Olive Stanton Enright, Salem.

Medical Chest of the Civil War period. Was used by Gen. U. S. Grant, and taken to Fort Spokane soon after the Civil War was ended. Placed in the custody by Rev. Lewis Davies, Warren, Oregon.

MAPS AND CHARTS.

New Map of the Mining Regions of Oregon and Washington, Territory, by Alonzo Leland. 1863. Compiled from observations made in 1861 and 1862. Scale 24 miles to the inch. Litho. Of Britton & Rey, San Francisco. This map shows Mullan's wagon road from Walla Walla to Fort Benton; also all the wagon roads and Indian trails of that time east of the Cascade Mountains.

Map of Oregon Branch of the Pacific Railroad. Military camps and posts indicated. 1866.

Mitchell's Traveler's Guide through the United States, 1832, giving a map of the United States as it was at that time, with the canal and steamboat routes, stage or turnpike roads, tables of distances, lengths of railroads, finished or in progress—the longest was the Baltimore & Ohio, from Baltimore to Pittsburg, 250 miles—and a number of statistical tables. 16mo, Morocco. Compiled by J. H. Young. Published by S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia. Map 17½x22.

Accompaniment to Mitchell's New Map of Texas, Oregon, and California, with the Regions adjoining. Philadelphia, 1846. 16mo, 38 pp. Descriptive text. Map 21x22½.

County and Township Map of Oregon. Published by J. K. Gill & Co., Portland, 1882. Size, 27½x30½.

Wardner, Idaho, and its Mines, Sketch of, in 1887, by J. T. Pickett, a son of Gen. George T. Pickett.

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